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THE
HISTORICALLY RECEIVED
CONCEPTION
OF THE UNIVERSITY

CONSIDERED
WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE
TO OXFORD.

BY
EDWARD KIRKPATRICK,
M. A. OXON.



Ἀληθὲς εἶναι δεῖ τὸ σεμνόν, οὐ κενόν.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,
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PREFACE.

The following treatise was originally intended to appear in one of the magazines, and has grown to its present dimensions in consequence of the additions found necessary to give completeness to the general design. This circumstance will, it is hoped, explain a certain irregularity in point of form, and account for, if it does not altogether excuse an apparent want of sequence between the several parts of which the work is composed.

Although the writer has not failed to take advantage of every means within his reach, he is most painfully aware that every page of that portion of his work in which he has attempted

to give a sketch of the leading events in the history of academic study will exhibit glaring evidence of a most imperfect acquaintance with the learned labours of German scholars on the same and kindred subjects. Owing however to the extremely defective condition of the public libraries as far as works of this kind are concerned the production of a complete, not to say exhaustive work of erudition is little less than an utter impossibility to any one living in the part of the kingdom in which he resides. Such an attempt involves not merely the cost of purchasing a very considerable library with every fresh undertaking of the kind, but a still more intolerable waste of time. No one who has not himself made the trial can be thoroughly aware of the infinite difficulties and wearisome delays experienced in hunting together 'monographs' published in remote corners of the continent, often out of print, always too trifling in price to repay the bookseller for the trouble of procuring them, and yet possibly containing what no one treating of a similar topic

can venture to neglect with impunity. In the present instance some additional expenditure of time might not have been without its advantages in affording an opportunity of supplying the deficiencies already mentioned, and also of correcting faults which it would be less easy to palliate. Scanty however as may be the evidence adduced, and unskillfully as it may often have been urged, the writer feels assured that these shortcomings on his part will be more than compensated by the intrinsic excellence of the case which he advocates. He deemed it advisable therefore to bring the work before the public in its present somewhat imperfect condition, rather than to risk the chance of postponing its appearance until a time when irrevocable action might have rendered all further suggestions on the subject unavailing.

An affection of the eyes with which the author has been much troubled during the printing of the following pages has rendered it impossible for him to inspect the proofs in every instance with the requisite degree of minuteness and

care. Occasional errors of punctuation and orthography were under these circumstances unavoidable. The writer is led to make this remark less on his own account than on that of the printer, who, it is but justice to add, has performed his portion of the task with unusual intelligence and accuracy.

EDINBURGH, March 1857.

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ERRATA.

Page viii. line 1, *for* University in instruction *read* University instruction.

ix. line 18, *for* Athens established *read* Athens as established.

20, omit the second note.

29, line 4, *for* victoirie *read* victorie.

35, line 4, *for* hi *read* hii.

60, line 22, *for* what those *read* those which.

95, first note, *for* Alexis Meinecke *read* Alexis in Meinecke.

104, second note, *for* Nimerii *read* Himerii.

109, third note, *for* however *read* here.

126, line 17, *for* forms *read* form.

131, note, *for* the philosopher *read* that philosopher.

139, line 17, *for* hundred sesterces *read* hundred thousand sesterces.

140, line 10, *for* introduced of assigning *read* introduced under the Ptolemies of assigning.

143, line 16, *for* that a later *read* that at a later.

144, line 10, insert the following sentence: The subordinate position assigned to the subjects included in the course above mentioned is evident from a passage in Plutarch already cited (p. 61.)

180, line 3, *for* with study *read* with the study.

198, line 23, *for* drawn together *read* were drawn together.

213, line 15, *for* existence of faculties is *read* existence of faculties at Paris is.

264, line 15, *dele* account.

280, line 16, *for* than *read* as.

298, line 7, *for* moral *read* morale.

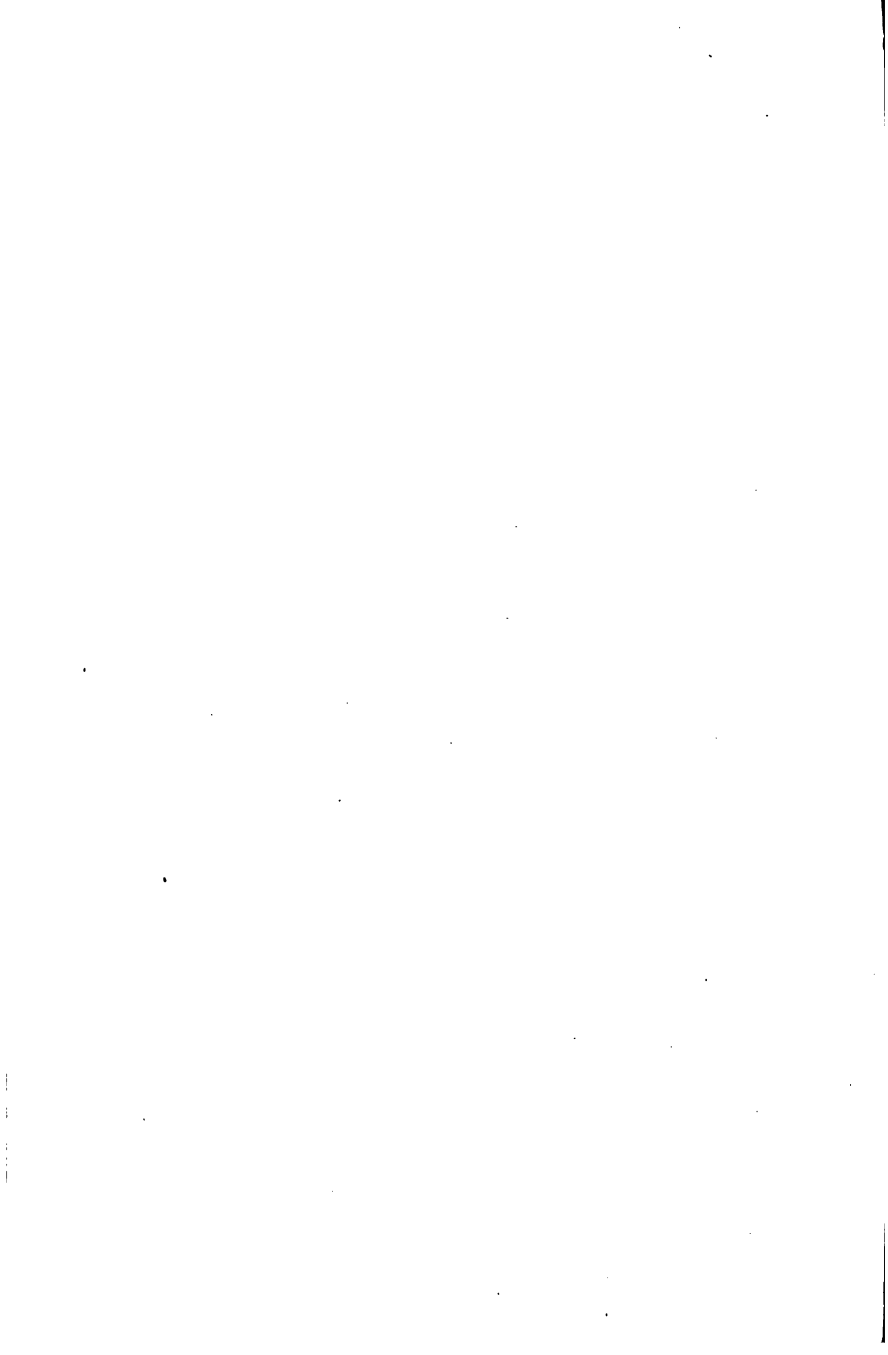
299, line 18, *for* state *read* scale.

300, line 4, *for* initiation *read* initiative.

line 17, *for* garded *read* regarded.

301, line 26, *for* wildness *read* wilderness.

306, line 11, *for* and ansuch *read* and has inspired such an.



I.

INTRODUCTION.

OXFORD FROM THE 11TH CENTURY TO THE MIDDLE
OF THE 14TH.

§. 1. No small share of the extraordinary Circumstances favour with which Mr. Macaulay's recent work which must be taken into account in every comparison of earlier with later stages of historical development. has been popularly received is due, we believe, to an attempt on the part of its author to combine the functions of the antiquarian with those of the historian, and to blend the description of conditions with the statesmanlike interpretation of events. Felicitous and well judged as is the conception of applying to English history the method which Niebuhr has so grandly exemplified in his treatment of that of Rome we cannot but take some exception to the manner in which this design is occasionally carried out. In spite of the declamatory, and somewhat over coloured manner of depicting characters and incidents by which the work is distinguished no one will have failed to notice the frequent reference to the vices and barbarism of earlier periods of English history, and the somewhat undue complacency with which the writer is

in the habit of contrasting the coarseness and prevalent immorality of former times with the decorum and respectability of our own. Without being altogether prepared to join issue with the historian upon the general conclusion at which he has arrived we cannot help thinking that he takes too little into account the homeliness of manners, and ruder nature necessarily arising out of the smaller population, and simpler relations of every more youthful period of human society.*) The life and comfort of a small provincial town, even though calamities now and then occur which when considered *en masse*, would give an ugly appearance to its annals, is never so intolerably disturbed and disorganised in consequence of the absence of an efficient police as that of London would be under similar circumstances. Mr. Macaulay seems to forget moreover that the existence of a certain degree of positive moral and intellectual greatness in a community more than counterbalances

*) For example when we read that Joseph sent his brother Benjamin a mess five times greater than that of any of the rest of the company we are not to imagine both parties to the transaction as fearfully unsentimental as we should conclude them to be from a similar love token at the present day.

almost any amount of mere irregularity and disorder in detail. The presence of a single character like Blake's or Milton's would even at the present day amply compensate for the existence of a score of caterans in the Highlands or footpads on Hounslow heath. — Had the work above referred to been composed after, instead of before, the events of the last two years we suspect that the author would have drawn a more austere and practically fruitful moral from the teachings of the past. He would at all events have taken occasion in a manner more pointed to bring home to his readers one salutary warning, namely that the vices and abuses of an earlier period when permitted to propagate themselves into a more advanced stage of national existence necessarily become productive of tenfold greater detriment and disgrace.

§. 2. But whatever be the merits of the view adopted by Mr. Macaulay when considered with reference to England generally there can be little doubt that as regards the most eminent of those institutions which exist for the purpose of promoting the noblest life of the nation and the individual the student of English History is likely to arrive at a widely different conclusion. The present condition of the most

ancient and celebrated of our schools of learning, its inertness and insignificance, except in so far as the social momentum of mere wealth is concerned, when contrasted with its singularly distinguished position and powerful influence in times far less favourable to the dominion of knowledge, is little calculated to suggest reflections of a vainglorious or selflaudatory nature. — Facts in this instance speak so distinctly, and point to conclusions so unavoidable, that little of the nice discrimination, and delicate balance of minuter circumstances generally requisite in deciding upon historical questions is here needed to interpret their evidence. A brief and simple statement of the leading events in the earlier history of Oxford presents so utter a contrast to all which could now be recorded that we may be spared the necessity of exposing the poverty and nakedness of an institution deeply impaired in its usefulness yet abounding in great possibilities, and in spite of manifold deficiencies still wearing an aspect singularly hallowed and impressive. — The existing state of things is so completely and finally condemned that we may be permitted to pass from a rapid sketch of what Oxford has been to a consideration of what it, and every

University ought to be, leaving it to each individual to determine how much remains to be done in order to revive in present times something analogous to so magnificent a past. It is difficult to discover any reason in the nature of things why in all that redounds to the true dignity and public usefulness of a learned institution Oxford in the nineteenth century should exhibit the very contradictory of what it was in the twelfth.

§. 3. During the whole of that period which exhibits in their highest energy and perfection the peculiar institutions of mediaeval Europe Oxford stood high and conspicuous, if not foremost, among the intellectual lights of mankind. — It was one of the chief sources of scientific guidance and certainty during a series of ages rich in vigorous vitality, and abounding in the noble promise of the most healthful and genial adolescence. From the Norman conquest to the middle of the fourteenth century Oxford asserted a power over the scientific and moral convictions of the leading nations of Christendom little if at all inferior to that of Paris, the oldest and most important of the continental Universities. Nay on reckoning up the names of the European celebrities of that period, and

Celebrity and material greatness of Oxford in the earlier middle ages.

comparing the dates which mark the order of the internal changes successively introduced in each, it appears that in point of mental enlightenment, and corporate organisation the balance of obligation is far less exclusively on the side of the English University than is commonly imagined. So intimate indeed were the ties by which both were united that they may almost be regarded as distinct portions of the same academic whole rather than as different Universities. The most eminent Doctors of Oxford acted at the same time as regent masters in Paris, and nothing was more frequent than for students of one University to complete their studies at the other. *) The material greatness

*) A. Wood History and Antiquities of Oxford, ed. Gutch. I, page 207.

See Huber History of the English Universities I, page 66. In this number were no doubt comprehended, not only the numerous attendants who formed the retinue of students belonging to the nobility, but all those tradesmen, who, from the fact of their ministering more immediately to the wants of the academic population, were regarded as clients of the University. In Bologna a large number of scriveners bookbinders bedmakers etc. were enrolled amongst the *suppositos Universitati*, and swore obedience to the rector. See Savigny, *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*.

of Oxford during a large part of this period was perfectly prodigious. The number of scholars, according to well authenticated documents, amounted to thirty thousand distributed throughout three hundred halls, and this enormous academic population included not only students from all the British races, but a very considerable number from the nations of the continent. Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germans, Bohemians and Italians flocked in crowds to the teachings of the English University. *) — “Those Scholars”, says Wood, ‘that could compass Oxford and Paris to see the fashions there, converse with clerks of most countries, and obtain but a specimen of their literature were accounted worthy in their generation”. Oxford exerted a weight and authority in England and Europe generally to which no existing institution furnishes the slightest parallel or analogon. In conjunction with Paris it contained the concentrated intelligence of the Church, then in the highest ascendancy of spiritual power, and asserting an

*) See A. Wood History and antiquities of Oxford I, P. 4. — The extent to which Oxford was frequented by students from Italy, is evident from the existence of the aula Romana in the parish of All saints. (A. Wood Hist. and antiq. of Oxford I, p. 206.)

almost equal universality of temporal dominion. Ancient writers vie with each other in the joy and pride with which they allude to the part which Oxford then played in the nation, and in the times. They speak of it as 'one of Englands stays nay as the sun eye and soul thereof'. — Matthew of Paris in 1256 describes Oxford as 'the second school of the Church, yea the fundamental base thereof'.*) An old historian quoted by Huber in his work on the English Universities waxes even more eloquent in his enthusiasm. — "This bright sun", he tells us, "gave light to the whole kingdom, the beams of our wisdom spred the whole world. All schools took counsel and example from this, all kingdoms honoured it: as far as God heth londe Oxford had a name".

Its influence
upon the
scientific spe-
culation of
that epoch.

§. 4. Hyperbolical as these expressions may seem to those who only know Oxford from the intellectual torpor, and Sibthorpian conservatism (minus its kindliness) by which it is now chiefly distinguished, a single glance at the leading events of those times will show that they contain something more trustworthy than quaint rhetoric. Oxford then

*) A. Wood Hist. and antiq. of Oxford p. 75 and 76.

attested its utility and renown by the noblest fruits, by 'books and men'. Its weight and importance amongst the learned institutions of Europe is evident from the distinguished part borne by its fostersons in all the great Church Councils of this period, and from the extraordinary proportion of the most illustrious individuals of the time whom she could then claim as her own. Roger Bacon, a name more highly venerated out of England than that of Bacon of Verulam*), Wycklyffe, the forerunner of the Reformation, Alexander Hales (Doctor irrefragabilis), Duns Scotus, the perfecter of scholastic philosophy, and Ockham, the most acute and ingenious advocate of Nominalism, are only samples of a long series of great and gifted men who taught in Oxford during this æra of its history. — "Without doubt", says Wood, in speaking of Oxford, "all impartial men may receive it for an undeniable truth that the most subtle arguing in school divinity did take its beginning in England, and from English men; and that also from thence it went to Paris and other parts of France, and at length into

*) Heeren, Geschichte der classischen Literatur im Mittelalter I, p. 300.

Italy, Spain, and other nations".*) Of the literary fertility of the university we have evidence in the fact recorded by Pitsius**), that Oxford produced no less than one hundred and forty authors between the twelfth and the middle of the fourteenth centuries. ,

§. 5. In order to form a due estimate of the comparative importance of the circumstances above mentioned we must bear in mind, not merely the extremely primitive condition of the times of which we are now treating, but the additional fact, that the illustrious individuals whose names shed honour on the records of Oxford during this period were in an incomparably greater degree the genuine product of its peculiar method of education than the political and literary celebrities who might now be adduced amongst the graduates of the university. The entire life of the great men of that epoch was spent in connection with what were then the sole repositories of learning and enlightenment. Even when elevated to posts of political distinction, or ecclesiastic dignity such individuals remained

*) Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford I, p. 160.

**) See Huber History of the English Universities I, Note 14.

united to the University by relations and sympathies of the strongest and most intimate nature. Oxford was not then compelled to defend the utility of its instruction by reference to a heterogeneous list of notorieties, whose after-eminence can as little be traced to their residence at the University as the legal ability of Sir Frederick Thesiger can be referred to the indifferent dinners consumed at the Inns of Court, or the Chambers he may have rented in Chancery Lane. The extent to which the alumni of Oxford were indebted to her teaching for their intellectual configuration was evident in the permanence and strength of the ties which continued to unite them to the University when all external connection had been severed. She proved her claims to her offspring by the indelible family likeness they bore her.

§. 6. With reference to the scientific and positive value of a productivity so astonishing as that above mentioned, it is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the once fashionable method of flippantly disposing of the philosophic labours of the scholastic period as mere disputatious quibbling, or as exhibiting at best the eccentricities of a perverted ingenuity has long since been discovered to be one of

True character of the scholastic philosophy.

the shallowest of vulgar errors, and is now classed with the stupendous ignorance and incapacity of appreciation which with equal confidence pronounced our Gothic minsters on a level with the monstrosities of Mexico or Otaheite, and recognised in Macbeth and Hamleth only the ravings of 'an inebriated savage'. That there was a period in which the spirit and power of scientific enquiry had utterly fled from the mediaeval systems, leaving a jargon quite as barbarous as that into which the terminology of Kant and Hegel has become perverted in the hands of their followers, is most unquestionably true, and the readers of Erasmus need not to be reminded that the absurdity and emptiness of this uncouth logomachy had been exposed and ridiculed long before the time of those who have the credit of having first opened the eyes of mankind to its deficiencies*). The scholastic philosophy had begun to verge towards decay even in the days of Scotus, and

*) See amongst other passages Ep. II, 10 and VI, 39, where Erasmus describes its adherents as theologastros, quorum cerebellis nihil putidius, lingua nihil barbarius, ingenio nihil stupidius, doctrina nihil spinosius, moribus nihil asperius, vita nihil fucatus, oratione nihil virulentius, pectore nihil nigrius.

Roger Bacon himself pointed out to his contemporaries the unhealthy tendencies into which it was beginning to degenerate. At the period of which we are now treating however the schools of Oxford and Paris stood in the highest bloom and vigour of existence. Inquiry was still prosecuted with all the hope and kindling ardour of triumphantly advancing speculation. To be rightly appreciated the Scholastic philosophy is but the dialectic form, the basis and frame work of that powerful and passionate yearning after an utter absorption of the earthly nature into the spiritual and immortal which lay at the root of all the leading phaenomena of the brighter epochs of mediaeval life. It was the universal prevalence of this ardent, and — at that youthful period — far from ignoble striving after an entire triumph over the grosser elements of existence which gave the Church its boundless power over the minds of men, and which in the mysteriously imaginative character of cathedral architecture has found an expression so lofty and suggestive of its own infinite aspirations after the highest object of human desire.

§. 7. Visionary and extravagant as were the aims of the crusading period, theirs was not that

morbid and puerile sentimentalism, which is exposed in all its pitiable absurdity when brought into collision with the reality of action or subjected to the rigid scrutiny of the dispassionate understanding. Their religious enthusiasm was no feverish delirium, but the glow and exhilaration of redundant health. It seized, not upon the weak minded — *γυναικας καὶ γυναικώδεις ἄνδρας*,*) as an ancient writer fitly terms them, but upon precisely the sternest and most powerful natures. The Gregories and Hildebrands, who appear as the spiritual Attilas of that era, and whose inflexibility of purpose, and energy of character were matched with administrative powers scarcely less gigantic, were in many cases summoned to the Chair of St. Peter from the desert and the convent. The so called mysticism of that age exhibits even a preponderance of the dialectic element. The writings of all the most eminent thinkers of the scholastic period, Albertus Magnus, Raymond Lull, Anselm of Canterbury, and especially the productions of the school of Hugo de St. Victor, are remarkable not more for a spirit of deep devotion, and an earnest

*) *Lobeck Aglaopham. p. 629.*

upward tendency of contemplation, than for the closeness of reasoning, and the vigour and ability with which the question is handled. With the most thorough adoption of the old Pythagorean maxim, φιλοσόφει τὸν οὐρανὸν σκοπῶν, they take care never to lose their connection with the solid basis of earth. No assertion is advanced without the strictest proof, and an entire system of the most elevating conceptions is riveted together with the compactness and irresistible force of a mathematical demonstration.

§. 9. The controversy between Nominalism and Realism, in which Oxford bore so signal a part during the best ages of its history, seems to have rested far more upon a generic difference of intellectual constitution, than upon the slighter and more incidental grounds of a purely speculative disagreement. Each of the contending parties here asserted what was subjectively true, and thoroughly in accordance with fact when considered with reference to their respective moods of cognition. The Realists with the vast majority of ancient philosophers maintained that thoughts are preeminently things, and do not merely possess a being of their own, but constitute the ground of existence to the exter-

Nominalism
and Realism.

nals with which we are conversant by means of the senses. The Nominalists, on the contrary, regarded the objects of sensuous perception as constituting the only veritable realities. Thought they looked upon as a mere principle of classification, an arbitrary *memoria technica*, and means of mentally grasping a certain amount of the infinite phaenomena of nature. Under the common name of thought, or idea, each of the disputants understood something essentially different. The Realist referred the term to the Platonic conception of those highest norms and principles of being, which a faculty and perception of inherent necessity far more certain than bodily sense, and more cogent than logical sequence assured him must be eternal, and consequently anterior to all finite and material existence. The Nominalist, on the other hand, as being virtually destitute of any such organ of mental intuition, applied the same term to those abstractions of the generalizing faculty, which constituted the highest form of knowledge of which his nature was capable. These of course he triumphantly demonstrated to be secondary, and subsequent to our experience of outward things. With so utter a discre-

pancy of nature on the part of all who come to the consideration of the subject matter, and where the whole question hinges upon the relative correctness of the powers of higher intellectual cognition in each, the most summary, and perhaps not the least satisfactory method of determining upon the point at issue is obtained by carrying the contest from the world of subjective thought into the more universally accessible region of objective reality. Impossible as it may be to reduce either of the contending parties to silence, where the arguments of the one side at least are based upon data utterly ignored by the other, it is not so hopeless an attempt to discover which of these two great diversities of intellect may be regarded as representing the most complete and perfect type of humanity, and as having been productive of the largest amount of light, wisdom, and elevated happiness to mankind. On which side are to be found the mightiest poets, the most beneficent lawgivers, the chiefest and most inspired apostles? Which tendency has strongly predominated openly announced, or tacitly implied, in the most fertile, active; and heroic ages of history? By their fruits ye shall know them, is a maxim quite as applicable

to philosophic, as to religious doctrine. That system is sure to be the soundest, and most thoroughly in accordance with scientific truth, which proves most eminently productive of moral advancement, and practically living thought.

§. 9. That this far famed controversy by no means originated in the times at which the names of Nominalism and Realism are first heard of, but is in reality coeval with the earliest essays of philosophical inquiry, is evident from a remarkable passage in the Sophistes of Plato where the latter speaks of the eternal *γίγαντομαχία* between those who regard *νοητὰ ἅντα, καὶ ἀσώματα εἶδη* as the ground of Being, and those who seek reality and truth in the corporeal only *).

§. 10. A circumstance which contributed not

*) Sophistes p. 346. We are aware that Schleiermacher (see Introduction to the Sophistes) understands this passage as referring exclusively to the controversies of the Megarean school with the materialistic followers of Democritus. We cannot help thinking however that this is a somewhat needless restriction of wide and general expressions. The words *ἐν μέσῳ περὶ ταῦτα μάχη τις ἄπλετος ἀεὶ ξυνέστηκεν* seem rather to show that Plato is here speaking of a lasting divergency of philosophic belief including as one of its manifestations that of the schools above referred to.

a little to render this controversy additionally barren and protracted was the loose and inaccurate manner in which the word idea seems to have been employed by the Realists themselves. Even Plato in many cases applies the terms εἶδος and ἰδέα to denote the merely universal (τὸ καθόλου), though not without clearly establishing in other passages the essential and distinctive features of the Absolute (τὸ καθ' αὐτό)*).

§. 11. Great however as was the influence of Oxford upon the studious world of Europe, the part which it enacted in English history at a crisis of political developement unspeakably momentous and decisive was even more signally beneficial and important. It was not so much in dexterously dealing with dialectic subtleties, or in awakening abstruse yet pregnant questions of ontologic science as in the region of moral action, and practical usefulness that the schools of Oxford have achieved their most indisputable claim to the respect and gratitude of after men. Throughout the whole of what may be termed its heroic age Oxford is distinguished by the warmth and intensity of inter-

Influence of
Oxford upon
the early po-
litical life of
England.

*) Such was also the case with Aristotle. See Brandis Aristoteles. p. 347.

est with which it followed the course of public events, and it is more than to be surmised that to this source more especially the history of that epoch is indebted for the political interest, and incipient statesmanship which set it so far above all the preceding and many of the subsequent periods. Of the two *nations*, into which the academic population was divided, the northern English (Angli Boreales, clerics Nourrois), who in philosophy adhered to the more Platonic and imaginative doctrines of the Realists, and in politics constituted the party of progress,*) seem at this time to have had a decided preponderance in the councils of the university. The weight of the whole learned class was thus thrown on the side of the baronial party in that memorable struggle with the crown**) in which the germs of English law and English liberty were quickened into intenser life and activity. Simon de Montfort, the head and soul of the English people at this most important juncture of their history, who by the addition of the gentry and wealthier burgesses to

*) Huber, Hist. of the English Universities I p. 86.

**) The very reverse of what took place during the Civil Wars. temp. Cac. I.

the former assembly of the barons and prelates became the author of the political power of the commonalty, found his most vigorous supporters in the ranks of the clerisy, and established at Oxford the headquarters of the baronial party*). That the support of the academic population was not confined to mere sympathy is evident from their bold and spirited conduct at the defence of Northampton. On this occasion they fought under their own banner, and according to old Walter Hemingford "dealt the soldiers of the king more harm than did all the barons" **). Their stout defence so irritated Henry that on entering the town he was with difficulty dissuaded from putting them all to the sword. Such a gathering together of literally myriads of ardent and highly susceptible natures into one focus of intelligence and sympathy could not but exercise a powerful influence upon the sentiments and destinies of the entire nation. A rude rhyme which has come down to us from that period bears witness to the fact that Oxford was then to the

*) Huber, Hist. of the Engl. Univ. I p. 95.

**) Huber. I Note 24, See also Pauli, Geschichte von England III p. 642.

rest of England almost as much a centre of impulse and action as Paris at the present day is to France, though, it need hardly be observed, that in the former instance this relation was based upon grounds, and exercised in a manner far more honourable to each*).

Benefits of
University in-
struction wi-
dely diffused
throughout
the aristo-
cracy of those
ages.

§. 12. This remarkable community of sentiment between the body of the nation and its schools of learning was the result at once of the unweakened connection which all who had ever been adopted into the mental aristocracy continued to maintain with the university, and of the singularly large proportion of the best classes of the country over whom the elevating influences of an academic education were then extended. The nobility of that day seem far less frequently than at present to have neglected to take advantage of the peculiar opportunities furnished by wealth and social position for possessing themselves of the highest culture which the age could furnish by passing

*) *Chronica si penses
Cum pugnans Oxonienses
Post paucos menses
Volat ira per Angligenenses.*

A. Wood. Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford I p. 258.

through a regular course of university study*). Even king John is known to have been by no means destitute of literary attainments.**) Henry the first (Beauclerc) is known to have been educated at one of the universities, most probably Oxford. Wood tells us***) that this accomplished monarch was wont to declare "that he would esteem himself but "a crowned asse"

*) "For at this time our mother was in its vigour, and esteemed by all as great a school of learning and virtue as in the whole world, and therefore as the common nursery of the chief nobility in England." A. Wood. *Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford*, I p. 221. The very large number of men of rank who studied at Oxford in the earlier period of its history is attested by another circumstance recorded by the same writer (I p. 267). At the storming at Northampton when Henry the Second had resolved to send to the scaffold all the scholars of Oxford who had taken part in the defence of the town, his own friends earnestly dissuaded him from carrying his design into effect, representing to him that the university comprised a very large portion of the sons of the first families in the realm, and that any undue severity towards them would infallibly cause the defection of many who had hitherto espoused the royal cause.

**) Pauli *Gesch. von Engl.* III p. 486. The works of Pliny and Peter Lombardus are mentioned as amongst the books in his library.

***) *Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford* I p. 131.

without literature, and was always ready to declaim against the condition of those princes that had not naturally, or did not take pains to obtain such humane gifts that might render them prudent and discerning in the eyes and judgment of the people". Even in the comparative decline of the English universities at the close of the fifteenth century John Major writes that there were in each "from four to five thousand scholars, all grown up, carrying swords, and bows, and mostly gentry".*) Of the swarms of zealous disciples who followed Abelard, and other great teachers of that age, from city to city until the whole countryside was often unable to supply food for their countless multitudes, it is expressly mentioned that a very large proportion was composed of the noblest born, and most affluent of the land **). The warlike and adventurous spirit of the crusades, no less than of the time of Elisabeth arose from something better than an excess of animal spirits, or the incontrollable redundancy of mere physical vigour. Their chivalrous gallan-

*) Quoted by Sir W. Hamilton, *Discussions on Philosophy* &c. p. 414.

***) Neander *Church History* Vol. VIII, pp. 427, 40, 95, 96.

try was but the simplest and most primitive expression of a naturally noble and aspiring temper, which was almost as much in its element in the high speculations of the schools, as when enacting deeds of valour and romance.*)

§. 13. We should be doing a grievous injustice to Oxford of the olden time if we imagined for an instant that in their influence upon the political events of the thirteenth century the scholars of that day bore the slightest resemblance to the insane school boys whose mischievous puerilities during the late disturbances on the

The political opinions of the University and popular party of that day had nothing akin to modern sansculottism.

*) An analogy, and in some respects a confirmation, of the view here taken of the spirit of the chivalrous ages will be found in the twofold character of the gymnastic training of the ancients. The latter was designed to harden and invigorate the body, in order by a sort of indefinable sympathy to fortify, and give a heroic temper to the soul. (See Lucian's beautiful dialogue de gymnasiis.) The gymnasia were schools of philosophic, quite as much as of bodily, exercise and their twofold tendency is indicated by the divinities to whom they were dedicated, Apollo *φαιδριος* (Lucian de Gymn., P. 887 Hemsterhus. Plut. Symposiac. P. 724) and Hermes, the god of intellectual, and bodily dexterity (Müller, *Archaeologie der Kunst* §. 380, Hor. Carm. I, 10, init.), amongst the later Romans the *Thermae* held relatively to literature and philosophy a position in many respects analogous to that of the Greek gymnasia. Bulaeus Hist. Univ. Paris I, p. 367.

continent have done so much to bring German universities into contempt and disgrace. Plutarch would as soon have thought of drawing a parallel between Tiberius Gracchus and Mr. Cuffey*) as of comparing the academic adherents of de Montfort and Grosseteste with the bemuddled Burschen who vapoured in 1848 at the barricades of Berlin and Vienna. The scholars of Oxford are not seen associated with the spirits of anarchy, absurdity, and blackguardism, but with the powers of Duty, intelligence and order. The resolute yet modest watchword of their party 'nolumus leges Angliae mutari' plainly demonstrates that they were in arms to defend the *ἄρχαία νόμιμα*, the primeval law of the land, and to resist not create, revolution. Their conception of the liberties of Englishmen was suggested by national institutions inherent in the praehistoric organisation of their own peculiar type of social life, and springing essentially from that living principle of personal honour, and mutual self-respect, which had given its very name to the Germanic race.**)

*) The impertinent 'nigger', who diverted the public a few years since in the capacity of a Chartist orator.

**) The name Germani is, according to Savigny, equi-

which they attached themselves consisted not of mischievous madmen, or 'seedy' patriots, but of those who were confessedly the most virtuous, and nobly gifted men of their time.

valent to Ehrenmänner (men of honour, *politai*, *cives optimo jure*) and denoted the collective body of freemen. The principle which animated this body was believed to consist in the personal dignity of a commoner and a gentleman, as distinguished from the more exclusive pride of rank belonging to a nobleman. The honour of a free man constituted the *caput civis* amongst the Germanic nations. This notion of freedom, Savigny goes on to observe, was not as at present purely negative, but contains something far more positively characteristic than we now commonly associate with the word. As in the case of the *dominium ex jure Quiritium* amongst the Romans, the possession of property was regarded as a necessary condition to the enjoyment of the rights of the Germani.

In point of etymology Savigny connects the Germani with the Allemanni, the proper name Herrmannus, and the Ahrimanni of the Lombards. Analogies of meaning he adduces in the case of the Franken, or freemen, also called Rachinburgii, a term derived either from *rechtbürgen*, or from *rek*, noble. The Rachinburgii are also designated as *boni homines*, where of course the word plainly corresponds to the Goths i. e. *die Guten*, or, as we should say, the good men and true.

The ordinary derivation of Germani from Heermänner, or warriors Savigny shows to be inadmissible from the fact that even women were designated as Ahrimannæ.

Simon de
Montfort.

Much of the poetic interest which attaches to the history of Simon de Montfort arises from the manly tone of religious faith, which gave elevation, earnestness and pregnancy of lasting results to the actions of that heroic and farsighted man. *) A ballad quoted in Pauli's excellent history of England **) strikingly illustrates the pride and enthusiastic confidence of his followers in their chief, as well as the strong assurance, and conscious power which the presence of an ethical and absolute principle imparted even in that primitive period.

Il est apelé de Montfort.
Il est el mond, et si est fort,
Si ad grand chevalerie.
Ce voir e je m'acort.
Il eime droit, et het le tort,
Si avera le mestrie.

§. 14. Simon de Montfort continued to be revered after his death as a saint and martyr by the people. Pilgrimages were performed to his tomb, where miracles of healing were devoutly believed to be wrought. This popular

*) Pauli, Gesch. von England III, p. 768.

**) III, p. 749.

canonization of the hero is alluded to in a lament of the same period:

Mes par sa mort le cuens Mountfort
Conquist la victoirie.
Come ly martyr de Canterbyr
Finist sa vie &c. — *)

Robert
Grosseteste.

§. 15. Qualities no less admirable were conspicuous in the personal character of Robert Grosseteste, the friend of Simon de Montfort**), who seems to have exercised a sort of Nestorlike authority and guidance over the academic section of the adherents of the latter. Though fearlessly espousing the cause of the nation in church and state, and expressing his views on the subject of ecclesiastical abuses with a plain spoken energy which falls not far behind the language of the reformers themselves, the extreme benignity and wisdom of his nature seems to have led him to avoid any positive breach with those whom he felt it his duty to oppose. He was thus enabled on one occasion more especially to intercede on behalf of the university whose wilder spirits had well nigh drawn down upon Oxford the fulminations of the Papacy at a

*) Pauli, *Gesch. von England* III, p. p. 795, 796.

**) Pauli, *Gesch. von England* III, p. 635.

time when Kings and Kaisars had learned in good earnest to respect its anathema.

Grosseteste was an intimate friend of Roger Bacon who had even been educated under his influence. He is known to have possessed an acquaintance with Greek and Hebrew and is described by Neander as holding a very high rank among the scholastic divines of the day. That his acquirements were not of that general nature which imparts mere liberality of sentiment and comprehensiveness of view is evident from the fact that he taught with distinction as a Doctor of the university.*) Roger Bacon speaks in the strongest and most enthusiastic terms of his intellectual attainments. "Solum dominus Robertus dictus Grossum caput novit scientias."**) The belief in his knowledge of the mysterious ground of things caused him to be invested with an awful and half unearthly character. Like Roger Bacon he was popularly regarded as a magician.***)

§. 17. Throughout the whole of his public career Grosseteste was distinguished for the

*) Pauli, *Gesch. von England* III, p. 644.

**) Neander, *Church History* VIII, p. 98 Note.

***) A. Wood *Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford* I, p. 200.

affectionate warmth and interest with which he entered into all questions connected with the welfare of the university. 'Doctor Grosseteste', says the old annalist, 'was always a loving father to the scholars.'*) He was attached to the university not only from the genial love of youth characteristic of all finally susceptible natures but from a profound recognition of the elevated spirit and influences it embodies. At the head of the bishops of England he declared Oxford to be 'the second church' (*secunda ecclesia*).**) After his death when the king clergy and people of England publicly petitioned the pope to ratify the judgment of their hearts and consciences by enrolling 'holy Robert of Lincoln' amongst the saints of the church, the university bore witness that "he never omitted any good act pertaining to his cure for fear of any man, but that he was always provided to undergo martyrdom whenever the sword of the persecutor should appear". A noble instance at once of his intrepid resolution, and enlightened intellect is recorded by Wood. On the elevation of Frederick de Lavonia, a mere boy, and a

*) A. Wood Hist. and Antiq. I, p. 233.

**) A. Wood Hist. and Antiq. I, p. 228.

soidisant nephew of the Pope, to one of the highest ecclesiastical dignities in England, Grosseteste resisted the appointment: and when excommunicated for his contumacy declared that 'he appealed from the sentence of the Pope to the tribunal of Christ.'*)

§. 18. It is a pleasing characteristic of this genuine worthy of English History that he had a true Lutheran appreciation and love of music. He always kept a minstrel in an adjoining apartment in order, as he expressed it 'to dispel the fiends.'**)

Results of the
political
movement
headed by the
Barons and
the Uni-
versity.

§. 19. Such were the men who with the zealous support of the university and learned classes conducted a political movement which has so powerfully contributed to render the history of England grandly fruitful, beyond that of all other modern nations, in lessons of noblest interest and lasting meaning to mankind. Cast as they have been into comparative obscurity by the occurrences of times more generally accessible, and bearing more immediately upon the questions of the present they gave distinctness and form to a living principle of political life,

*) A. Wood Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford I, p. 202.

**) Pauli, Gesch. von England III, p. 855.

which, though slumbering for ages, in suspended vitality, never afterwards became wholly lost to the national consciousness. The fruits of their efforts are to be found in the existence of a united English nationality, in the introduction of ministerial government, in the beginning of the representative system, in the employment of parliament as a medium for the redress of grievances, and finally in the enactment of laws, which by providing for the convocation of the estates of the realm at regularly recurring, and not distant intervals, effectually rendered the sanction and formal assent of the nation an indispensable element in all future government. *)

§. 20. That the details, and special results of the policy pursued by the Baronial party are to be attributed rather to the native good sense, and practical sagacity of the men of action, than to the cloistered lucubrations of scholastic Oxford is too thoroughly in accordance with the primitive simplicity and healthy nature of those times to admit of the slightest uncertainty. We must however bear in mind that the Ba-

Extent to which the University contributed to the political advancement accomplished in this period.

*) Pauli, Gesch. von England, p. p. 391, 624, 676, 719.

rons themselves were probably to a man alumni of the university; and that the alliance which thus existed with that institution was rendered closer and more intense through the parish clergy, by whom they were most vigorously supported.*) The presence of an element of high political speculation is moreover distinctly visible in the literature of the day, a circumstance which can only be attributed to the active cooperation of a far more metaphysical and thoughtful class of intellects than could have been met with in any number amongst the mailed barons of Runymede. The following extract from a poem of that period strikingly shows the extreme enlightenment, precision and clearness of ultimate principle imparted by the learned body to the movements of the popular party.

Nec omnis arctatio privat libertatem,
Nec omnis districtio tollit potestatem.
Ad quid vult libera lex reges arctari?
Ne possint adultera lege maculari.
Et haec coarctatio non est servitutis;
Sed est ampliatio regiae virtutis.
Igitur communitas regni consulatur;
Et quid universitas sentiat sciatur.

*) Pauli, Gesch. von England III, p. 725.

Cui leges propriae maxime sunt notae

Nec cuncti provinciae sic sint idiotae.

Quin sciant plus ceteris regni sui mores,

*) Quos relinquunt posteris hi qui sunt priores.

§. 21. In the wonderful accuracy of distinction, and philosophic comprehensiveness of spirit with which the great problem of the times is here treated it is scarcely possible to avoid recognising an immediate utterance of the University. The same conclusion is still further favoured by the language in which this extraordinary document is composed, and the traces of Aristotelian doctrine which it not obscurely exhibits.

§. 22. That the literature of England which began to appear above the surface at the same vigorous and prolific epoch was, indirectly at least, not a little indebted to the general stir and activity set in motion by the University appears all the more probable when we consider how deeply the art of those ages reechoes the sublime faith, and speculative mysticism, which were the prevailing characteristics of the leading schools

Relation in
which Oxford
stood to the
Church.

*) Quoted by Pauli, see Geschichte von England III, p. 727.

of mediaeval philosophy *). To this circumstance however, as well as to the still more signal benefit conferred on England by Oxford in not indistinctly heralding the advent of religious reformation, we can only allude most briefly. Oxford appears to have been from the very first far less immediately dependent upon the church than almost any of the other trans-alpine Universities. The researches of Professor Huber render it evident that the English University developed itself, not from the cathedral, or abbey school, as was the case with that of Paris, but from the court school established by Alfred at Oxford in imitation of a similar institution founded by Charlemagne. This peculiarity in the origin of the University of Oxford seems to have exercised a decisive influence upon the whole tenour of its relations to the ecclesiastic power. It maintained indeed the most intimate connection with the church, and derived all the advantages which would naturally be afforded by the favour and fostering protection of that

*) A series of English painters is mentioned by Pauli (Gesch. von England III p. 843) as having arisen in the reign of Henry the third (1216—1272).

sovereign hierarchy*) which then occupied a position so astonishingly elevated and imposing, but never failed at the same time to maintain a distinct, though subordinate individuality, and to give proof of a possible independance of action. While zealously cooperating with the church, as the loftiest expression of holy order, and the concentrated form of all the highest tendencies of human nature, Oxford seems never to have been so far carried away by its appreciation of what the Church was meant to be as to become blind to the knowledge of what it often actually was. The Papacy at that period seems not only to have presented a spectacle inexpressibly impressive and sublime, but to have exercised an influence on the whole eminently civilizing and salutary. 'The crowned priest' in whose hand were all enterprises, and at whose feet the fealty of Christendom was offered, was often the soul and direction of the very best aims and efforts of

*) The Pope supported the University in its quarrel with the town aided by king John in 1210. In another controversy of the same nature in 1228 the Pope decided in favour of the University, and appointed the Masters judges in such cases without appeal from their verdict (Wood Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford I p. 18.)

the period. The church existed as the origin, and element of all highest impulses in knowledge, in art, and in practical life; and through the closely knit organization of one vast system gave form, consistency, and discipline, to their expressions. The institutions of Popery, which in the more advanced stages of social existence are ever found pernicious to morality, and inimical to political freedom, appear to have been productive of many very happy effects in an age so simple, and so susceptible of boyish enthusiasm; just as many of the loveliest and holiest virtues of the feminine character seem even now to attain their most exquisite perfection amidst the graceful superstitions, the highwrought sentiment, and the unquestioning, selfabandoning faith of Catholicism. The darker and more subtle tendencies of Popery remained comparatively harmless in the primitive childhood of European life, and we find that the protests of Oxford are far more directed against the appointment of foreign priests to the highest offices of the English church, the scandalous extortion of Romish officials, and other corruptions and abuses, than against the essentials of the Popish system. On more than one occasion we find the University staunchly

supporting the cause of the Pope*), and Anselm of Canterbury, one of the brightest characters, and finest intellects of the whole mediaeval epoch, is found among the zealous adherents of Hildebrand**). There appears notwithstanding to have been all along a leaven of something decidedly akin to Protestantism in the Northern clerks and Realists, from whom Wycliffe himself ultimately proceeded***). The opinions of the Waldenses are known to have found decided sympathy in Oxford†). So determined and energetic was the spirit of resistance to the abuses and scandals flowing out of the Popish system that there were times when the entire University seemed on the point of assuming a position of open hostility to the Romish church. We read that when Gregory the second sent out a bull in condemnation of the doctrines of Wycliffe "the proctors and certain Masters joining together stood along in doubt with themselves whether they should receive the said bull with honour, or refuse and reject it with dis-

*) Huber. Hist. of the English University I p. 89.

**) Neander Church History VIII p. 14.

***) Huber. Hist. of the English Univ. I p. 85.

†) A. Wood Hist. of the English Univ. I p. 158.

grace"*). "Wycliffe," we are further informed, "proceeded very boldly, not without the applause and wellwishes of many persons in the University"**) . In the details of the tumults, which were of somewhat frequent occurrence with the bold and turbulent academic plebs of the period, we find many traces of a national spirit of resistance to the aggressions of a foreign priesthood. This is especially discernable in the account given by Mathew of Paris of the riot of 1238, in which the Papal legate narrowly escaped with his life.***)

*) A. Wood Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford .I p. 494.

**) Id. I p. 498.

***) About this time (1238) the lord legate Otho (who had been sent to England to remedy multifarious abuses in the church) came to Oxford also, where he was received with all becoming honours. He took up his abode in the Abbey of Osney, the clerks of the University, however, sent him a goodly present of welcome of meats and various drinks for his dinner, and after the hour of the meal repaired to his abode to greet him, and to do him honour. Then so it was that a certain Italian, a doorkeeper of the legate with less perchance of courtesy towards visitors than was becoming called out to them with loud voice after the Romish fashion, and keeping the door ajar: 'What seek ye?' Where upon they answered, 'the lord legate, that we may

§. 23. In commenting upon this occurrence Huber draws attention to the fact that the re-

greet him.' And they thought within themselves assuredly that honour would be requited by honour. But when the doorkeeper with violent and unseemly words refused them entrance they pressed with force into the house regardless of the clubs and swords of the Romans, who sought to keep them back. — Now it came to pass also that during this tumult a certain poor Irish clerk went to the door of the kitchen, and begged earnestly for Gods sake, as a hungry and needy man, that they would give him a portion of the good things. The master cook however (the legate's own brother, it is said, who filled this place for fear of poison) drove him back with hard words, and at last with great wrath flung hot broth from out of a pot into his face. 'Fie for shame!' cries a scholar from Welshland, who witnessed the affront, 'shall we bear this?' and then bending a bow, which he held in his hand, for during the turmoil some had laid hands upon such weapons as they found within reach, he shot the cook, whom the scholars in derision named Nebuzaradan, the prince of cooks, with a bolt through the body, so that he fell dead to the earth. Then was raised a loud cry, and the legate himself in great fear disguised in the garment of a canonist fled into the tower of the church, and shut to the gates. And there remained he hidden until night, and only when the tumult was quite laid he came forth, mounted a horse, and hastened through byways, and not without danger, led by trusty guides to the spot where the king held his court: and there he sought protection.

proaches with which the scholars assailed the legate “were the expression of public opinion in England, and do but state more correctly and plainly the sentiments then held by many of the best English divines” (vol. I p. 93).

Suppression
of the Wyck-
lyffe party
leads to the
decline of Ox-
ford.

§. 24. So deeply seated was this reformatory tendency in Oxford, and so radically interwoven with the very principle of its existence that the final suppression of the Wyclyffe party in the middle of the fourteenth century gave at once the deathblow to its ancient prosperity*). The academic population rapidly dwindled to an inconsiderable remnant of literary mendicants, and nothing can be more lamentably graphic than the descriptions given by contemporary writers of the feeble and shrunken existence through which it continued to languish until with the revival of classical learning in the fifteenth century it regained a faint resemblance of its former renown**). To this period in the history

The enraged scholars however stayed not for a long time seeking the legate with loud cries in all corners of the house saying: ‘Where is the usurer, the simonist, the plunderer of our goods, who thirsts after our gold and silver, who leads the king astray, and upsetting the kingdom enriches strangers with our spoils?’

*) Huber. Hist. of the English Universities p. 157.

**) In an extract from an academic petition quoted

of Oxford as that in which the existing form of the University had its origin we shall hereafter have occasion to recur.

II.

THE DISTINCTIVE PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSITY INSTRUCTION.

§. 1. We are well aware that any attempt to claim for the University at the present day the same absolute and uncontrolled ascendancy which it maintained at a period when in possession of a positive monopoly of knowledge would justly be dismissed as a mere freak of literary Quixotism. Much no doubt which it then laboured to bring about has now finally been accomplished. The

The University an essential organ of European enlightenment and progress.

by Huber. I p. 163. it is mentioned that "out of so many thousand students, which are reported to have been here at a former time, not one thousand now remaine to us." See also Sir W. Hamilton, Discussions on Philosophy &c. p. 414.

grain of mustard seed has expanded into a life incomparably vaster than that from which it proceeded. The leaven of intelligence has indeed so far permeated the mass that the relative positions of the University and the world without have actually been reversed, and society at large is now bestirring itself to carry onwards, and spiritually invigorate those very institutions to which it is itself indebted for the liveliest and most dynamic elements in its own existence. An anomaly so glaring and disgraceful can however have no permanent place in the natural course of things. The University can hardly be regarded as an institution of merely transient utility, whose part, like that of Venice or Nuremberg, has been already played, and which must henceforth subside into a respected, but comparatively common place and insignificant existence. As involving a distinct principle of study and education, and adapted to a particular stage of mental growth, the office and position of the University is no less abiding than the condition it is intended to meet. The vast changes which have taken place in the social and intellectual condition of the community generally ought not of themselves to operate exclusively, or even importantly, to its

disadvantage. Its intrinsic claims to authority and influence should on the contrary only become more urgent and irresistible with every wider extension of knowledge. Far from being diminished, its opportunities of acquiring mental dominion are immeasurably augmented with every circumstance which conduces to awaken a spirit of intelligence, and quicken the capacity for nobler pursuits over a vaster circle of the community. In place of a learned few the most thoughtful and politically important portion of an entire people are thus more and more brought within the range of its influence. Nor need this more amply extended sphere of operations be purchased at the cost of any diminution of the central energy. The proper action of the University should become the more intense and forcible from the vigorous reaction by which its impulse will be reciprocated. Its utterance should be rendered all the more deep and powerful by the wider compass of vibrating sympathy from which its tones will be re-echoed. The University of the present day, like the church, has sacrificed only an unnatural and extravagant species of predominance, while invited to aspire to a position far more grandly important as well as infinitely more

permanent and secure. Controlled, and to a certain extent counterbalanced, as it henceforward must be by the intelligence of the upper classes, and the existence of a numerous and highly cultivated extramural clerisy,*) the University is none the less bound to assert its ancient priority over the learned institutions of the land, and to maintain an undoubted supremacy over those less strictly disciplined auxiliaries who have gradually assumed so large a share of its functions. Its design is conceived with reference to education in a form so lofty and absolute as to aim at aiding onwards and upwards not merely the student, but science

*) For the derivation of this word see Neander Church History I, p. 271. We are there informed that it was originally suggested by the analogy supposed to exist between the ancient Levites and the Christian priesthood. In the same manner as the former were assigned no share in the promised land, but had the Lord for their inheritance (*κληρος*), the latter were looked upon as a class having no participation in the world and its concerns, and living and labouring solely with reference to spiritual and eternal interests. By a further extension of the same analogy the term *κληρικός*, clericus, was ultimately applied to all who devoted themselves to a life of thought and speculation. Huber Hist. of the Engl. Univ. I, p. 39.

itself. The efficiency with which the University discharges this its proper function is an indispensable condition to the progress of that severely scientific investigation without which the office of the dispensers of information would of itself speedily come to an end. It is precisely to this element of ever advancing science-guided developement that the intelligence of Europe is indebted for its distinctive and invariable superiority over the monotonously recurring, and unprogressive, or rather successively retrograding, civilization of the orientals. Progress in the highest speculation is essentially identified with the very existence of the European state, and the means of ensuring its furtherance becomes a question of imperative necessity. Even if no motives more manly and resolute than those of self preservation, and the maintenance of inherited advantages be taken into account, interests so momentous dare not, of course, be staked upon a concurrence of accidents so improbable as the spontaneous appearance of a series of gifted individuals, each arriving exactly at the moment when his services are required, and enabled by the unaided force of natural ability at once to enter upon the career of a discoverer. Neither in

actual nor ideal life does the *deus ex machina* ever descend to save from disaster and disgrace those who from slowness of heart, and secret unbelief in everything beyond physical enjoyment neglect to take to heart the plainest conclusions of reason, and the most terrible warnings of history. An ever present and lofty necessity can be only met by an activity no less permanent and elevated. Without the existence in full practical efficiency of a scientific body politic resting its foreknowledge of the future upon the most genial mastery of the past, and blended by organisation into one comprehensive individuality, activity of intellect not unfrequently becomes a curse instead of a blessing to society. Restless eddying assumes the place of onward movement, and, as is so often seen in the unedifying excentricities of English sectarianism, the very mental fertility of a people gives birth to mere abortions and monstrosities. Men of no mean natural endowments, and eminently gifted with that sense for the unseen which is the life of human development, from the absence of sound scientific discipline have become the apostles of mischievous delusions, or at best introduced a new element of confusion and uncertainty.

§. 2. The superhuman agencies of genius can never, it is true, be conjured within the limits of any institution, however admirably conceived, or wisely and judiciously organised. The powers of mightiest influence in human history seem to come and go mysteriously, in obedience to a will, which seems, with Heraclitus,*) to disport itself in the rhythmical freedom of its own spontaneity. — But though all incapable of commanding the gift of the *θεία μοίρα* legislative wisdom and forethought is paramount over all the ordinary and permanent constituents of human grandeur and felicity. It is enabled to provide conditions which will almost infallibly ensure on the part of the community that genuine sympathy and lively susceptibility for high thoughts which is the vital element of genius. It has given existence to learned institutions of an intent so high and noble as never to be wholly obscured by the selfish meanness of their administrators, and calculated of themselves to foster in the nation a spirit of intelligence and aspiration, which whenever heaven

*) See Fragments of Heraclitus, collected by Schleiermacher. Museum d. Alterthumswissenschaft I, p. 429.

sent prophets and judges do appear, will permit none of their words to fall to the ground in vain. It is the province of the University to warrant an originality only secondary to that of miraculous and creative intuition. It claims to possess that scientific method whose first suggestion is the noblest fruit of genius, and without the establishment of which that divine faculty would have appeared amongst men in vain. Men simply remarkable for learned industry and intelligent inquiry united with a reverential and imaginative temper, when trained and organised as the several members of one scientific whole are abundantly qualified to maintain the steady development of forms of knowledge which originally emanated from a generically distinct, and far more marvellously gifted class of intellects. Revelations of highest truth otherwise unveiled only to those who quite transcend the conditions of ordinary humanity are through the instrumentality of the University brought within the ken of all who through earnest endeavour and persevering energy strive to awaken within them that germ of the divine which exists in every uncorrupted and well constituted nature. The original movement of genius is

thus endlessly propagated. Its inspiration and power purified from all subjective imperfection become exalted into principles of moral order and ideal beauty, which penetrate and transform into their own likeness the entire life of society.

§. 3. In proceeding from these somewhat general and preliminary remarks to a closer investigation of the subject we propose to consider, our first endeavour must be to arrive at that distinct conception of the immediate and special usefulness of the University which can alone enable us to unravel the intricacies of the testimony of the past. The University is, of course, preeminently a training school for the *intellect*. It exists for the purpose of calling into action the highest order of mental faculties, and aims at invigorating those powers which most completely sum up the scientific capabilities of the man. Though consequently embracing within the sphere of its operations the moral, as well as the intellectual nature, or rather having reference to that higher mode of cognition in which both are inseparably combined, its influences are necessarily intended to bear far more immediately and powerfully upon the latter. Strictly speaking the moral

nature, vast and incalculable as is the importance it ever assumes, must here be regarded as of secondary moment. It is included, less in its own right, than as necessary to complete the conditions of the general design. Study and instruction, the communication and living reception of knowledge, must ever constitute the chief end of the University, and a clear and definite conception of the principle of University study is accordingly the primary condition of every well matured scheme of University reform.

Erroneous
impressions
prevalent on
the subject of
University
study.

§. 4. The extreme perplexity and uncertainty which seems to have been felt in dealing with this question is to be attributed to the absence on the one hand of any exact and clearly understood principle, and to the prevalence on the other of imperfect and erroneous notions, whose adoption fortunately has been attended with insuperable difficulties. Much as the learned institutions of this country have suffered from the general apathy of the English people to all questions of higher import, they are now threatened with risks infinitely more serious from those paroxysms of precipitate legislation which regularly alternate with long intervals of total indifference. Among the many weak and shal-

low fancies now current on the subject of University education, there is one which seems to have found wonderful favour in the eyes of that numerically imposing, and now indeed, absolutely dominant section of the community which so instinctively sympathises with whatever is mediocre and trivial, or where the essential poverty of the scheme is thinly covered over with a few equally common place, but vaguely high sounding phrases. The theory to which we allude is too familiarly known from a conspicuous practical illustration to need any minutely detailed description of its peculiarities. The characteristic feature of institutions formed upon this model is to be seen in the fact that the results of academic teaching are sought to be obtained by means of a system of studies so selected as to compose a small encyclopaedia of those branches of knowledge which are considered peculiarly essential to a liberal education. Their aims are especially directed towards comprehensiveness of knowledge in a somewhat popular acceptance of the phrase, and those subjects consequently which lie most widely distant towards the leading points of the compass of science are peculiarly preferred. The studies of the University ac-

According to this view of the subject are purely introductory in their nature. The knowledge imparted in academic education is not regarded as constituting an end in itself, and as not less inseparably one with wisdom and mental culture than form is with substance, body with soul, but simply as the means and instrument to an end external to itself, and consequently as destined to become comparatively valueless whenever the mental discipline for the sake of which such studies were prosecuted has been finally attained. The chief utility of the University is here believed to consist in enabling the student to direct his glance as widely as possible over the whole field of science, and thus to enter upon a future course of specific study with all the intelligence and catholicity of spirit which a general acquaintance with a variety of subjects widely differing in character is likely to impart.

Objections to
the principle
of a curricu-
lum of gene-
ral study.

§. 5. That a system of higher education founded upon such a principle stands fatally open on every side to the severest criticism is immediately apparent. We will not dwell upon the difficulty of coming to any real and decided agreement with reference to the studies which

so unmistakably and preeminently deserve a place in a system of liberal education. What clear and absolute canon is there by which we can know what subjects to exclude? Are no studies to be represented in the University beyond the very limited number which can find place in such a curriculum? Or if nominally admitted by the creation of supplementary professorships are the individuals who hold appointments of this nature — constituting as they soon would the vast majority of academic teachers — to remain without virtual influence or share in the life and workings of system by depending for a class upon those very exceptional instances where students could afford time from the imposed labours of the University course for the thousand and one subjects which it did not embrace? The difficulties in the way of such a plan are not at all diminished if we take into account the infinite diversity of tastes and mental idiosyncrasies which have already definitely manifested themselves in early manhood. Every decennium in advancing existing sciences farther on the way to perfection, and in calling new forms of knowledge into existence is furnishing a new means by which a corresponding

class of intellects can alone arrive at the developement of their characteristic excellencies.

§. 6. These however are but trifling cavils directed against mere external inconveniences in comparison with those objections which become apparent upon a closer examination of the essentials of the system. It is unnecessary to point out the extreme superficiality which must be an inherent characteristic of instruction communicated upon such a principle. Not only is the scattering of the attention over an indefinite number of heterogeneous subjects proverbially unfavourable to excellence in any, but the very circumstance that those branches of knowledge are prosecuted only for a brief period, and destined eventually to be cast aside for studies of an utterly different nature is even more incompatible with that zeal and earnestness which is the indispensable condition of all depth and originality.

§. 7. In spite moreover of the high sounding phrases which its advocates lavish upon the end they propose to attain, no one can fail to discern how immeasurably the University would sink below its high traditional office and its even yet vaguely recognised position if the utmost aims of academic teaching were merely

directed towards serving as the prelude to a still higher course of instruction. The function here assigned to the University is in fact that property belonging to the collegiate school, which is compelled to resort to an education by means of generalities in consequence of the immaturity of the intellects with which it is called upon to deal. As an essentially practical art, education necessarily adapts itself to the nature and permanent conditions of the subject whose faculties it is intended to cultivate and develop. It is compelled to direct its efforts to the attainment, not of the most admirable end under all conditions whatsoever, but of the most excellent of those ends which are attainable under certain given circumstances. It must advance and enlarge itself in accordance with the same law of unity of character combined with successively expanding diversity of form which regulates the growth of the individual mind. The type and order of its various metamorphoses must correspond throughout with those through which the individual passes in his progress to maturity. The strongly marked and essential difference between the mental constitution of the boy and the man demands a distinction equally

broad and definite between the mode of education designed for each. The peculiar mental characteristics of boyhood all spring from the fact that it is merely the basis, so to say, of the intellectual faculties which is then existent. Memory, a lower form of imagination, and a certain ready receptivity are almost the only forms of intellect which appear with any prominence in a normally constituted boyish nature. Reason, and all power of originating are either utterly not existent or little more than foretold in embryo. The system of instruction adapted to meet the wants of such a period must lie similarly at the basis of all education and of all mental acquirements. It must be laid in the lower sphere of the intellect, which is possessed by all healthy and properly organised natures, and not in that higher consciousness which even at manhood is vouchsafed to but few. Its chief aims will be to store the memory with those data which will serve as the materials of all positive knowledge*), to fill the imagination with noble images, and in the absence of any very decided indication of power in the di-

*) πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τὴν μνήμην τῶν παιδῶν ἀσκεῖν καὶ συνθερίζειν. Plut. de lib. educand. §. 13.

rection of one particular department to give that general discipline of the faculties which is sure to be useful in all. The highest excellence attainable at this stage of education consists in an unpretending solidity and thoroughness of acquirements. In consequence of the utterly undeveloped state of the reflective faculties, and the inability to look beyond facts to principles normally characteristic of this period, the highest form under which knowledge can as yet be communicated is that of rule. The most efficient schoolmaster is he who can best succeed in imparting to his pupils a sound and thorough routine, the meaning and reason of which they will hereafter be in a condition to appreciate. All attempts to convey instruction by higher methods at a stage of development when in accordance with the wise and unchanging design of nature, nothing beyond the merest rudiments of the intellect are existent, invariably result in verbosity, feebleness and disappointment. 'Der gute Schulmeister' says Lessing, 'soll seine Schüler tüchtig einüben und nicht mit ihnen prahlen'. It is a remarkable circumstance, and one most characteristic of the confusion and perversity prevalent on those subjects, that while public opinion is

setting strongly towards a scheme of study which would degrade the University into an unmeaning repetition of the school, demands not less clamorous are being made for a revolution in the mode of imparting preliminary education which would lead to a most abortive attempt on the part of the school to invade the province of the University.

its origin. §. 8. That the plan of conveying the mental culture by means of a combination of various branches of knowledge belongs to the instruction of the school, and has no connection with the principle of academic study is further evident from a consideration of its origin. The entire conception is identical in principle, and in all probability historically derived from the *ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα* of the Greeks, and the Trivium and Quadrivium of the later Roman empire*). This course of instruction was confined in the times of antiquity to the higher class of schools, and regarded as completely subordinate to what those hold the place of University study. We shall hereafter have

*) The former consisted of Grammar, Dialectics, Rhetoric, the latter of Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy.

occasion to illustrate this point more fully. For the present we will merely refer the reader to p. 11 of Plutarch's life of Alexander (ed. Reiske), where the inferior position of the teachers of the *ἐγκύκλια* is distinctly indicated, and also to §. 10 in the treatise by the same author de liberis educandis. In this last passage Plutarch lays down the principle that a liberally educated person should content himself with a general notion of such subjects, *ἐκ παρὰδρομῆς μαθεῖν, ὥσπερ εἰ γεύματος ἐνεκεν, ἐν ἅπασιν γὰρ τὸ τέλειον ἀδύνατον*. The channel through which this plan of instruction has arrived at its present popularity is doubtless to be recognised in the original studies of the Faculty of Arts. This department of the University in the purely preliminary character which it continued to maintain until the revival of letters is well known to have been entirely based upon the old Trivium and Quadrivium.

§. 9. In one word such a scheme of academic study amounts to a mere compromise between the requirements of two essentially distinct forms of education, in which, as usual in such cases, the solid substance of the one and the boundless power of the other are equally sacrificed. Every step towards consistency forces

those who adopt this theory in still more uncomfortable proximity to one or other of the horns of an unrelenting dilemma. If they aim at propounding a plan of study which shall simply and strictly serve the purposes of general mental discipline they are compelled to fall back within the narrow limits of schoolboy education, while any attempt at an acquaintance however cursory with even the leading subjects of the cycle of liberal arts and sciences is physically incompatible with the time allotted to the entire course.

§. 10. We are far from being disposed absolutely to condemn this system of education when considered simply by itself, and not forced into comparison with the infinitely higher tendencies of the discipline whose name it usurps. In spite of the adage to the contrary even the most superficial acquaintance with science is not without its elevating and salutary influence. Troublesome as is the spirit of talkativeness encouraged by debating societies, mechanics institutes and other literary associations of a popular cast, their effects take them for all in all are we believe wholesomely stimulative and beneficial. The seminaries founded on the principle we have hitherto been dis-

cussing amount to a much more strict and permanently organised variety of the same class of institutions with results proportionably higher and more important. Their ill effects proceed not so much from themselves as from the virtual non-existence of a nobler and more masculine type of education, the very presence of which would suffice to keep them in their proper place. Here as elsewhere it is quite possible for a first rate specimen of a lower class to be productive of much more practical good than an utterly degraded and enfeebled instance of a higher genus. Pupils formed under such a system may be expected to manifest a very considerable degree of that quickness and fluency which even the persevering perusal of newspapers suffices to impart. Few topics can be stated respecting which they are altogether in the dark, and they are enabled to bear their part in a conversation somewhat above small talk with respectability and credit. As far as any decided results can well arise from a theory which contains so little that is either mentally or morally fructifying, such institutions would seem to give promise of a plentiful crop of platform orators, 'able editors', and occasionally might even be

adorned with a tenth rate literateur. The highest results however attainable under such a system are ever found to be a large amount of merely general information, a smattering of many subjects but the mastery of none. *Πουλυμαθία νόον οὐ διδάσκει*, a delusive semi-education and in too many instances that knowledge which puffeth up without edifying is all that can be anticipated from a scheme of education so radically feeble and common place. Amongst our livelier and more exact allies on the other side of the channel, with whom causes hurry on to their legitimate effects far more rapidly and consistently than with us, the characteristic tendencies of this system of study are made apparent in the fact that learned ladies are we are told already beginning to compose an alarmingly considerable portion of the audiences of the collège de France.

The University a school for matured and manly intellect.

§. 11. Excellent, nay absolutely necessary, as is the system of imparting mental culture by means of subjects the most wide and general in their bearings during the mere prelude of the educational process it is evident that a mode of instruction which answers admirably with reference to a mental constitution so simple and uniform as that of boyhood will no longer prove

applicable at a period when original thought, the reasoning powers, the productive imagination — in a word all that constitutes a well defined individuality — is daily becoming pronounced with greater distinctness and energy. So infinite is the diversity of tendencies at this stage of mental developement, so manifold the methods which instinct and nature have pointed out to each individual, as the means of attaining to moral strength, and intellectual vision, that the curriculum of study had need be as wide as the universe itself in order to have any definite pertinency of application to the requirements of subjects so various. It is not by following after knowledge discursively throughout the endless multiplicity of its forms, still less by so impotent an attempt at polymathia as that which we have been hitherto considering, but by mastering science as a power and a function that the mind and character can be trained for entering the lists of life with high hopes and steadfast assurance of success. Paltry and puerile as is the conception of the university entertained by those who would sweep away the significant forms and boundless capabilities of our ancient schools of learning for some of the patent educational humbugs of the canting

liberalism of the day, utterly incapable as they seem of establishing its operations upon any principle which would raise them into different category from those designed to drill the unreasoning and half animal schoolboy, the terms which even they employ when speaking rather of the general aims of academic study than of the means by which they propose their attainment, prove how deeply seated is the notion that the instruction of the university should be regarded from no lower standing point than that which suggests itself on inquiring what is the fittest and worthiest mental training for men. Mistaken indeed is the notion which would cause education to cease at the very point where it begins to exhibit itself in its full perfection and energy. Manhood evinces the plenitude of its power, and practically asserts the culmination of its faculties, in the intensified ability and earnestness with which it addresses itself to the search after that knowledge and wisdom which constitutes the completion of its being. No one more completely gave the tenour of a perfect life, or more thoroughly read the riddle of human existence than the Athenian sage who tells us that as

an aged man he found himself none the less a student*).

§. 12. Nor is that estimate of the University which claims that its studies should be in thorough accordance with the tone of manly intellect at all at variance with existing circumstances. Few individuals become members of an English University greatly below the age at which in countries more military than our own they would be called upon to do the first duty of an adult citizen by serving the state in arms. In the two great nations of antiquity the *ἐφηβοί* stood first upon the muster roll of the state, and the same age seems afterwards to have been regarded as the fit period for entering upon the life of the University**). In mental

The University student a man in point of physical constitution.

*) *γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος* Solon. Fr. 19. See also Plato *Laches* p. 188—201. *Amatores* p. 133. *Euthydem.* p. 272—278. *Erasmi Ad.* p. 258.

**) *ἐπειδὴν εἰς τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον ἐγγραφεῶσι, καὶ ἐφηβοὶ γίνονται.* *Lycurg. adv. Leocr.* c. 18. cited by *Meineke Fragm. Com.* III p. 528. The registration on the list of the lexiarch was identical in point of time with entrance into the military service of the state. See *Wachsmuth Hellen. Alterthum I* p. 477. Respecting the university age in the school of Athens during the 2nd and 4th centuries see *Philostrat. II* p. 564. *Morell. Eunap.* pp. 126, 102, 82. *Schott.*

no less than in bodily organisation the class who compose the bulk of University students have to all intents and purposes arrived at man's estate. Their frames are not yet filled out to their complete proportions, and still lack the compactness and solidity of manly prime, but these deficiencies are more than compensated by the freshness and elasticity of youth.

§. 13. In perfect accordance therefore with this entire development of the highest faculties of his nature the student in entering upon the studies of the University has arrived at a stage of educational culture not less essentially distinguished from those through which he has hitherto passed than the mind and sphere of action assigned to the noblest and most admirably gifted man rise above the widest opportunities and capacities of a child. He has entered upon the noblest heritage, and is henceforth called upon in self advancement to enjoy the magnificent faculties and means of higher being with which he has been entrusted. *Θείαν ἀρχὴν ἤρξατο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμφρονος βίου εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.* The formal and theoretic training which ushers in this new epoch of existence must itself be but the beginning of the end. It must stand in immediate reference, and have the di-

rectest pertinency to the special duties of after life. Its aim must be to awaken in the individual his own peculiar mode of growth in knowledge, and to unfold within him that type of human excellence which his existence is especially designed to exemplify.

§. 14. The capacity for becoming cognisant of things in their causes and ultimate grounds of existence is of course the prominent and characteristic feature of manly intellect, and the same circumstance will necessarily determine the bent of the education best suited to call forth and heighten its peculiar virtues. It is only at the full maturity of man's physical and intellectual nature that thought and reason constitute the type of his knowledge. The interdependence of highest truths stretching forward beyond all possible experience, and potentially involving an infinitude of particular conclusions, supplants for the future that memorializing of mere facts, which is only valuable as affording the stuff and informable material for the activity of higher faculties. Even where the subjects of study remain the same, the change of the spirit in which they are prosecuted leads to results unspeakably different. The mechanical combinations of the school-

The characteristic peculiarity of manhood consists in the capacity for higher speculation.

room become transformed into shapes of light and energy. What was before an inert mass of dogmas and retrospective conclusions becomes a body of living principles advancing, and causing advance almost independently of human will or design, furthered by the highest mental power, and yet insensibly stealing onwards when prosecuted with merely ordinary observation and intelligence.

This can
alone take
place through
the medium of
those sciences
which corre-
spond with
the peculiar
inclinations,
and mental
gifts of the
individual.

§. 15. This intuition of the Absolute which gives the tone and character to University study is not so much the peculiar property of any one particular department of knowledge as the end and perfection of all. — It is the one common idea of Science, which while exerting a power of distinctest unity, has still tangible reality, and definite matter of fact existence only in the infinite diversity of the actual modes of cognition. Some forms of knowledge exhibit the Idea more face to face, as it were, and in a more perfect, and congenial material than others. All however unfold essentially the workings of a morally necessitated law of Righteousness, Truth and Beauty, and to those endowed with the genuine vocation for a life of knowledge its glory and majesty are perhaps even more peculiarly brought home when un-

expectedly revealing themselves in the very humblest walks of science.

§. 16. Plato in one of the masterpieces of his philosophical genius tells us that to become a living agency the One must at the same time be many*). The Idea must exhibit the unbounded fullness of the Being it comprehends through myriad fold forms of existence, each a perfect image of the one common prototype. The intensity of its unity is not diminished by infinite distribution. Like the soul it is all and entire in every part. To suppose that the principle of highest Being is restricted to a single mode of manifestation would in effect contradict one of primary laws of its nature, which consists in the assertion of a triumphant superiority over the limitations of finite existence. Absolute knowledge therefore as the counterpart of absolute being can exist in energy**) — as Aristotle phrases it — only by means of a corresponding multiplicity of forms. Though one in spirit, and in the abstract, it will be many in actuality and the concrete; one as a viewless and wholly indeterminable potency,

The Idea of Science attains real existence only in an infinitude of cognate forms.

*) Parmenides p. 142. οὐκοῦν ἄπειρον ἄν τὸ πλήθος οὕτω τὸ ἐν ἅν εἴη;

**) ὁ νοῦς ὁ κατ' ἐνέργειαν τὰ πάντα νοῶν.

many as far as all practical and educational purposes are concerned.

True speculative power always accompanied with a decided bias in the direction of some particular study.

§. 17. Nor is this view of the subject alone supported upon grounds of theory and abstract speculation. In every instance of genuine originality a powerful mental bias in the direction of some one particular subject never fails to manifest itself along with that activity of the reasoning faculties which constitutes the essential characteristic of intellectual maturity. The most marked and striking peculiarity in the practical education of manhood when compared with that of an earlier period is perceived in the fact of its being accomplished by means of specific and definite studies, instead of mere generalities. The strengthening and determining of those tendencies whose harmoniously toned predominance gives character, and, so to say, expression to existence, nay the direct training of the more purely intellectual faculties is with the great majority of mankind the result of the mental habits and requirements arising out of the peculiar pursuit upon which the individual has been directed either from bent of natural genius, or the concurrence of external circumstances. Such is unmistakeably the fact, nor is the ratio at all a matter of un-

certainty. The fulness of time has arrived for the application in the sphere of the particular, and practical of those faculties which have hitherto only been exercised, or rather sought after, in the region of the general. Action, which guided by design is, of course, preeminently the vocation of the man, deals always, according to Aristotle*), with the individual instance. The accompanying energies of the intellect are in like manner therefore collected in undivided force and intensity upon the mastery of that one particular subject under which these individuals are embraced. Universality, on the other hand, and comprehensiveness of mind are to be obtained, not by the mechanical method of cramming the rudiments of as many different sciences as the memory will contain, but by searching into one subject in its depth and fulness, by penetrating to the cognition of the fundamental truth in all its self necessity, and endless capacity of application. In a far more profound and pregnant acceptation is the culture of the intellect here understood than in the crude and ill conceived

*) Metaphys. A. 1. 981 a. αἱ δὲ πράξεις καὶ αἱ γενέσεις πᾶσαι περὶ τὸ καθ' ἑκάστων εἶσιν.

attempts at its attainment perceived in the schemes of education of which we have previously treated. Every true and perfect science, nay to go farther every entire and ideal thought holds potentially involved within itself the whole universe of truth. It furnishes a norm and keynote of harmony, in accordance with which every further discovery will, if genuine, necessarily be attuned. Not only therefore does it ingraft within the subject a germ of that infinite productivity of the Idea which Bacon speaks of, but even in the lower region of his every day consciousness it foreshadows and reveals an image of the totality of knowledge*). It is not therefore by the sacrifice, but by the zealous encouragement of that individual capacity and genius which betrays the instinctive striving after the comprehensive mastery of the special that the University, standing, as it does, on the threshold of the intellectual career of manhood will impart the form and method by which breadth of views, and totality of contemplation, with its attendant humanizing influences on the moral character are most surely to be attained.

*) See Schelling *Academische Vorlesungen* p. 44.

§. 18. Nor is it merely an infinitely more sound and genuinely liberal tone of sentiment which results from this pursuit of the Absolute in and through the particular. It constitutes the only condition under which powers and qualities the most mighty and commanding, the existence of which is in itself the sum of human felicity and greatness, can possibly be manifested. The godlike power of productivity, whether evinced in the purely intellectual efforts of the philosophical and artistic imagination, or in the less infrequent, but not less thought-directed forms of practical originality and moral purpose, is alone conceivable where all the energies are concentrated upon the entire and signal fulfilment of one high end, and the mastery of one comprehensive subject. The highest excellence — and no lower object can be proposed by him who is destined to accomplish what is even creditable — is alone to be attained by one who does not disperse, but gathers his powers of perception into a piercing intensity and singleness of view, enabling him to reach beyond the facile and common place into the dim and distant region of the undiscovered. The law of genial precognition in the subject is in the highest degree analogous with that of

The cultivation of particular branches of science the only condition under which productivity is conceivable.

life and beauty in the object. Intensest unity*) is the soul of contemplation, and ideal action no less than of creative organisation.

§. 19. Progress in any particular science is the result of the thorough mastery of those highest principles which involve not merely endless results when subjected to the process of logical deduction, but furnish the starting point for an infinite variety of synthesis to the mind which can look beyond the necessary imperfection of the proposition in which they are conveyed to the unfathomable mystery of their proper Being. So thorough an insight into any department of knowledge demands of course the most absolute command of all its details superinduced upon a profoundly meditative and suggestive intellect. The whole subject must have been rendered so familiar, that all the phaenomena it embraces become transparent media for the suggestion of the principle which lies beyond them. The entire mass of facts in the science great and small must have so completely formed a part of the instinctive, and half unconscious operations of his mind, that they rise sponta-

*) Philolaus ed. Boeckh. p. 61. *πολυμεγέων ένωσις*.

neously and without effort to his recollection*). Scientific advance is so frequently furthered by questions suggested to a thoughtful mind by external phaenomena, and hitherto unobserved anomalies, that the smallest fact, the most apparently trifling minutiae, are precious to the student who has within him the gift of discovery. Neither of the requisites so essential to fertility and advance in knowledge, neither the grasp of particulars, nor the more transcendent faculty of divining from hitherto neglected phaenomena the deeper truths to which they point, is at all possible without a concentrated energy of thought and observation utterly incompatible with the simultaneous prosecution of a medley of literary and scientific subjects.

§. 20. Could no other objection be brought against the polytechnic, polyhistoric seminaries now so much the rage, their evident inadequacy to impart that profundity of acquirements which is the ground of all genuine independence of thought would essentially and utterly disqualify them from furnishing the pattern of University

*) The details of the subject must have been possessed with what the schoolmen call a *cognitio in actu et in habitu*. See also *Dial. de Orator.* §. 33.

study. The words of Schelling: 'Lerne um productiv zu werden', learn in order to produce, should be indelibly engraven on the memory and attention of every University student. The advancement of science according to Savigny constitutes the specific feature of difference which distinguishes the University from the humbler stages of the educational system. The Professor is called upon to teach science in the very process of expanding its developement, and by the encouragement of his example to stimulate and evoke a similar faculty in his pupils.

§. 21. Nor is this all. The sacred enthusiasm of Love, which Christianity has so profoundly brought to light as the vital element of that spiritual Being which is all consciousness, and all action, demands as the very condition of its essence the notion of the distinctest preference. That this divinest sentiment of our nature finds its true and natural object in the eternal verities of science, no less than in the reciprocating consciousness of another personality, none who are capable of appreciating either will be disposed to doubt for an instant. The devotion felt by noble and self sufficing natures even for the individual has far more reference to perfection and beauty of character, to the truth

and meaning conveyed in every act and word, than to the mere naked human unit. In asserting that no eminent example which gave heart and inspiration to all uncorrupted natures, no invention or discovery in physics, no revelation in mind, has ever been accomplished without a zeal for the particular department in which the faculty was exercised which amounted to an absorbing passion, we are simply bearing witness to the existence of a law which history small and great, declares to be without exception. Nor let it be imagined that those remarks apply only to the highest products of intellectual greatness, where few, we imagine, will be inclined to dispute their justice. The most humble and ordinary mode of usefulness and efficiency in life demands a lower, but not less decided, bent of heart, and mind, and soul, and strength, in one direction, and upon one well selected object.

§. 22. The University therefore, as being no wholesale manufactory of female pedants, or schoolboy prodigies, but a training-school for heroic men, a palaestra for Herculean natures, must, and practically does, enforce the same truth in adopting, as the fundamental law of its organisation, the sternest concentration of labour

The same principle therefore necessarily adopted as the basis and law of University study.

and study upon one field of exertion. In accordance with the very simplest, and most general regulations of its original form — as will hereafter be seen more fully — every one who attached himself to a community of this description was at once directed to enrol himself amongst the members of some particular Faculty, or division of University instruction. At the very outset of his academic career he was thus called upon to devote himself to one department of knowledge, the prosecution of which became from henceforth associated with the essential elements of his individual existence. The subject to which the student was thus formally apprenticed by the University was selected not merely with the view of assigning a direction to scientific industry, but of furnishing the future means of bodily support. The University, in consistency with what we have above laid down as the strictest law of its nature, is designed quite as much to ensure the subsistence of the outer, as the glorified renewal of the inner man. In one word *concentrated* study necessarily implies *professional* study. Such a condition was necessarily attached, not only from the fact that otherwise the favourite study would soon have found a most formidable

rival in the occupation upon which the individual was obliged to depend for his daily bread, but as a means of supplementing the scientific instruction of the University with the subtlety of observation, and thorough command of the subject, which practical familiarity so peculiarly affords. In qualifying himself to come before society in the character of a Professor of learning or science in some of its specific forms the student enriched his whole nature with a new function, he became gifted with a scientific organ, the possession of which was not only a mode of thought, and form of inward development, but at the same time constituted the leading and most prominent feature of his social life. This subject he declared to be his forte, the ground of his personal efficiency. Here he took his stand in the struggle of life, and on this point he professed himself ready, and competent, to meet any demands at all in accordance with the existing stage of scientific advancement. The character and qualities with which the University invested him were not those of a well informed man, or of general culture in the form of a shadowy and empty abstraction. Its arrangements were so contrived as to impart the most sublime and elevated

wisdom, the most noble and comprehensive humanity, in a form the most distinct and tangible. It is ever thus with those thoughts whose greatness lies rather in the conception than in the statement. The more genuine and universal the principle the more marked and characteristic the individuality of form.

§. 23. In speaking of professional study as the basis of the University system there is no danger, we would fain hope, of our being so utterly misunderstood as to be supposed desirous of restricting the educational usefulness of academic institutions to instruction in those departments which in common parlance are designated as such. Far from being limited to a sphere so narrow it is, we hold it, the especial aim and office of the University to exalt every noble and liberal study to the scientific perfection and exactness of discipline which is included in the very name of Profession. Any and every subject has a right to this designation which admits of being prosecuted as a science, and practised as an art; which can be intellectually summed up in formula of absolute truth on the one hand, and employed as a means, and mode of individual action on the

other. Learned and philosophical studies in ever increasing multiplicity become through the instrumentality of the University peculiarly and preeminently professional. It affords to the scholar and scientific investigator that precision and severity of intellectual training which makes him perfect in his department, and furnishes at the same time a field of action in which to give practical scope and effect to his acquirements. Opportunities of professional usefulness on the part of the regularly trained teachers of learning and science would not, of course, be confined to those afforded in the sphere of purely academic life. The University is itself only the highest and most conspicuous instance of a socially organised body in which erudition and scientific enquiry constitute the chief business, and instruction the sole profession of life. The example thus set forth is reflected in numberless other learned institutions of minor dignity and importance, which are meant to carry the influences of the central life into the remotest corners of the system. In supplying schools and colleges throughout the nation with a class of highly educated and scholarly intellects the university maintains a living circulation of the noblest agencies. The ordinary

professions, we may finally remark, arise out of the imperative and unavoidable wants of every community, that of learning is maintained by the ideal aims and free intellectual activity of a mentally energetic and highly cultivated community.

§. 24. The immediate and primary result of this plan of university study was that of arming the whole man to meet the emergencies of his coming life, under the two great forms in which they were certain to present themselves. The purposes of such a mode of education were in the highest degree practical and soberminded, without thereby becoming mean, or utilitarian. It strove to insure to the individual the most honourable *ἀνδραγασία*. In the instruction wherewith he was furnished by the University the student had put into his hands a two-edged weapon ultimately indeed intended to enable him to do good service in a far nobler cause than that of self, but at the same time not too delicate to admit of being brought to bear most efficiently against all that stood in his way in the ruder contest of every day life. Its objects were far more earnest and severely practical than those of the mere elegant and enervated dilettantiism of a cloistered and unproductive contemplation

utterly dissevered from those homely occasions of physical life which keep us in such close and constant relation with wholesome reality, and the refreshing, life maintaining bosom of mother earth. It can never be sufficiently remembered that in the University, as in every institution social and political which has within itself the grounds of a permanent and extensive utility, the guiding principle of its arrangements must be an endeavour to meet the loftiest aspirations of the spirit, while professing little more than to provide for the necessities of the body. It is even so with nature, who in her masterpiece of creative design has established the physical constitution and instincts of an animal as the starting point for the hopes and faculties of a demigod. The selfsame principle lies deep at the root of the collective humanity of the state, which the greatest of philosophers has described as *γυγνομένην μὲν τοῦ ζῆν ἐνεκεν, οὕσαν δὲ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν*.*) Art again, the quintessence of life and nature, is never so perfect as when in ostensibly promising to meet only the homeliest requirements of physical necessity it surprises with the free gift, and unanticipated presence of ideal dig-

*) Aristotle Pol. I, 2.

nity. In a manner precisely similar did the University enlist in its service that lower existence which it is called upon to hold in subjection, and drew from the cravings of daily life the occasion for its noblest and most elevated influences. To the forgetfulness of this principle, and to the consequent substitution of a system of academic study ignoring so deep and powerful a trait of human character the Universities are undoubtedly in no small degree indebted for the comparative insignificance into which they have since fallen. No graver or more fatal mistake can be made by those who find themselves called upon to perform the grandest office of a statesman in calling institutions into existence than by forgetting the permanent preponderance of the animal and external nature in the vast majority of mankind. The celibacy of the priesthood, and numberless other pernicious peculiarities of the Romish system furnish instances of the frightful effects to which attempts to ignore this circumstance inevitably lead. A system of academic study which has no direct and palpable reference to the worldly advantage of its pupils, which does not in the plainest and most unmistakeable manner conduce to success

in their several callings, can reckon upon no decisive weight, or commanding influence, in an age and country like that in which we live. An institution which stakes its whole credit and power in society upon refinement and intelligence not evinced in any one particular form of efficiency, will inevitably disappear more and more from connexion with the world of flesh and blood into a kindred cloudland of unrealities and abstractions. Nothing, we are convinced, but the sacred name of the University, the memory of what it has been in an eventful past, and a lurking consciousness of what it ought yet to be, has prevented such a consummation from having long since taken place. That such a result cannot always be deferred but little reflection is required to make evident. With the progress of civilisation, and the consequent widening extent, and increasing complexity of human action, life is daily becoming more feverish, anxious, and difficult. Time is more precious to all, and especially to the professional classes, who, it may be remarked, are far from profiting to the same extent with the commercial and labouring population in the openings afforded by the growth of colonial prosperity, and the prodigious material devel-

opement of the age. Under such circumstances it is a grave question whether it will always be possible for that higher middle class upon which the University must mainly depend for its support to bestow so large a portion of the best years of life, together with a heavy pecuniary outlay, upon what the vast majority will regard as the mere luxuries of education. Even the more sensible of the body we refer to will be inclined to question whether mental training, and general intelligence will not be attained far more thoroughly and surely in acquiring the knowledge requisite for the peculiar avocation of the individual, if not in the practical schooling of life. The many, it has often been remarked, are the patrons of the present day; and their support will in the long run only be bestowed upon such educational institutions as approve their usefulness in advancing material success. We are far from thinking lightly or irreverently of the soul which resides in the organised masses of the community. The ultimate tendencies of public institutions can never be made too noble or exalted. Their immediate purpose, on the other hand, cannot be too strictly directed to the plainest utility. The broader the basis

of the University in the wants and interest of actual human nature, the higher will it be enabled to culminate into the atmosphere of ideal humanity, the *πρὸς ὃ* of history,*) which, though by no means to be calculated on, is yet mysteriously present as the very mightiest power in political existence.

§. 25. How completely this by no means distantly threatening danger is averted by the principle of concentrated, and professional instruction we need not stop to explain. By founding the whole system of academic training upon the zealous prosecution of one favourite study, eminence in which is equivalent to no small measure of worldly prosperity, it is easy to perceive that the very carnal minded, and material spirit of the times, which has been so slowly and surely sapping at the foundations of the University will contribute to give them additional massiveness, and solidity, without in the slightest degree detracting from the elevated character of the end proposed. In imparting fitly, and thoroughly, the theoretical knowledge required for the practice of a learned profession, the purest and loftiest mental

*) Plut. de placitis philosophor. p. 882. ed. Reisk.

culture will of necessity be involved. The blessings of high and absolute intellectual activity will thus spread themselves throughout the entire social organization, reaching hundreds who neither can nor will sacrifice time and money to the attainment of an object to them so vague and visionary as general refinement and humanity. Apart however from all considerations of expediency the influence of university study would be lamed and paralysed to the extent of one half of its usefulness, were its operations confined to the mens divini^{or} in man, even supposing that the difficult problem of reaching the higher nature otherwise than through the medium of, and in conjunction with, the lower had been satisfactorily accomplished.

§. 26. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that while thus regarding the essential peculiarity of academical education as founded upon the selection of one subject, upon the acquisition of which the university student is directed to bend the undivided energies of his nature, with the distinct purpose of hereafter becoming an instructor or practitioner in the same department we are far from wishing to be understood as recommending an entire and literal exclusion from his notice of all other learned,

or scientific topics. All that we would advocate is the necessity of definitely establishing some one form of knowledge around which all other requirements should group and arrange themselves as the centre of a mental organisation. The more extensive the multiplicity of detail consistent with strongly expressed, and predominant unity, the richer, of course, and ampler will be the harmony of the whole. Mere unity, unbalanced by the presence of its correlative, shrivels up into the nothingness of a mathematical point. Paradoxical however as in some respects the assertion may appear, it is nevertheless most importantly true that, though in existence unity and multiplicity ever hold each other in equilibrio, the preponderance and centre of gravity in the highest, and most powerful forms of life, is always to be found on the side of unity. While forming the widest acquaintance with science in all its varieties — while feeling the liveliest interest in every shape and manifestation of the godlike striving after knowledge — the study for the mastery of which every force and faculty has mustered its utmost energies will only be heightened thereby in its prominent and sovereign importance. He acquaints himself largely with other subjects, but solely in order to

illustrate, enrich, and confirm, his knowledge of his own.

§. 27. But, it is not merely when considered on grounds of abstract psychology that the plan of imparting wisdom and power by means of the most severely expressed and pregnant unity of study approves itself in accordance with the genuine aims and character of the schools of manly education. The same conclusion is not less forcibly suggested upon an investigation into the origin and developement of the existing system of academic instruction, as exhibited in the most eminent and important Universities of our own, and former ages. Even in the case of those which have deflected farthest from the originally controlling influence the possession of this principle supplies the secret of their ancient greatness, and the clue to the aberrations and anomalies of their subsequent decline. The history of this ennobling form of educational culture is throughout consistent and conclusive, furnishing as it advances more and more vivid instances of one ever present law of mental action, and leaving, we are persuaded, little doubt that the principle, which, we have seen, has reason so decidedly on its side, is not less equivocally supported by fact also.

III.

THE HISTORICAL ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF UNIVERSITY STUDY.

§. 1. The paramount importance assigned to the subject of education in all the noblest states of antiquity, and the earnestness with which their most celebrated lawgivers exerted themselves to carry out the principle of mental and moral advancement to the utmost conceivable perfection, are every-where conspicuous at the earliest period at which Hellenic genius and culture assume their distinct historic character. The existence of a complete, and minutely organised system of educational arrangements, is from the first observable in those communities which exhibit the most strongly expressed, and consistent examples of the Greek conception of the state. The education of the youth of the country was

Higher education in the earlier periods of Greek history.

considered as the basis of all the future influences of the state, the ground and warrant of its best anticipations' from the citizen*). Far from abandoning this subject to the possible inattention, or excentric fancies of individuals, the state conceived that, as the common parent, its most sacred duty, and most vital interests, would be equally neglected, if the highest mind of the whole community were not directly, and constantly, brought to bear upon a question of such inconceivable importance to the individual, and the nation. In Sparta the workings of the whole educational machinery were placed under the supervision of an especial minister of state, the *παιδονόμος*, and the individual appointed to this office was selected from amongst those who had previously been invested with the highest political dignities**). A similar degree of attention was directed to this subject by the Pythagorean statesmen of the Greek cities in Italy, and even in Athens as we learn from Plato, parents were compelled to provide for the instruction of their

*) This sentiment is most emphatically expressed in Plato's *Euthyphron* p. 2. See also *Legg.* VI, p. 765 etc.

**) *Xenoph. de Rep. Lac.* II, 2.

children*) in gymnastics, and *μουσική* — a subject including what we should now call the rudiments of polite literature, and even the first elements of ethical doctrine**).

§. 2. From the very primitive and unformed condition in which science of every kind continued to exist until shortly before the time of Plato and Aristotle, to say nothing of the scanty and limited extent to which the materials for learned study were then extant, it is evident that, all interesting, and invaluable as are the institutions and precepts of the philosophers and legislators of earlier Greece, from the light they throw upon the nature and ultimate aims of education, they can supply at the utmost but distant, and general analogies with reference to the peculiar and distinctive functions of the several parts of a system of instruction provided in accordance with requirements of which that age had not as yet become conscious. Xe-

*) Crito p. 50, cited by Graefenhahn, *Geschichte der Class. Litterat. im Alterthum*. See also passage from the Comic Poet Alexis, Meinecke, *Fragm. Com. LXXXI*. "Qui Athenienses ait ideo oportere laudari, quod omnium Graecorum leges cogunt parentes ali a liberis, Atheniensium non omnes, nisi qui liberos artibus erudissent."

***) See Plato *Protag.* p. 326.

nophon, or whoever else is the author of the treatise *de republica Lacedaemoniorum*, informs us that the state of Lycurgus regarded the education of the ἡβῶντες as infinitely transcending in importance and dignity that of a period less mentally and physically developed, and less capable of moral good and evil. Notwithstanding this general conviction of the necessity for a more advanced form of instruction the training of those who had advanced beyond childhood partook even more strongly of the character of a practical discipline than the educational stages by which it had been preceded. Vigour and manly dignity of character, as exhibited in deeds of positive morality (ἀρετή, ἀνδραγαθία), still constituted the highest form of excellence placed before the coming man, just as obedience (πειθαρχία), moral purity (σωφροσύνη), and reverence (αἰδώς), had been almost exclusively inculcated in childhood. — It was reserved for a later period, and for a more intellectually progressive portion of the Hellenic race to recognise in knowledge and mental power the highest condition, and absolute end of human existence.*) The en-

*) ὁ γὰρ λόγος ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς φύσεως τέλος. Aritsotle.

tire scientific attainments of the times in which the Dorian commonwealths had their period of pertinency were expended in the pregnant apophthegms,*) the heroic ballads, and the masculine, Handelian music, which formed the principal components of the mental training of boyhood. Positive instruction had herein reached its farthest limits. The man was henceforth called upon to enact deeds similar in spirit to those which he had been taught to remember, and revere. The only higher school into which he now passed was that of the public service. The grandly suggestive forms, and sublime tendencies of the state were designed to set before the man a still loftier, more serious, and more impressive manifestation of the principle of the nobly beautiful (*καλόν***) which had been throughout the keynote of his previous education. This notion that the state is the

*) These brief and sententious aphorisms were not in reality peculiar to the Spartans, but simply a remnant of the pithy and proverblike form in which the most ancient philosophy of the Greeks was embodied. See the celebrated passage in the Protagoras of Plato p. 342—444.

**) The phrase *τὰ καλὰ* was the regular expression for a refined and liberal education. See Xen. Hellen. V, 3, 9. Cyr. I, 2, 15. Compare also Aristoph. Ran. 729.

school for men, πόλις ἄνδρα διδάσκει, though most emphatically expressed amongst the Dorians, who were, indeed little more than the strictest and straitest sect of the practical politicians of Greece, was scarcely less adhered to in the antagonistic element of the common race.*) — In the magnificently eloquent harangue in which Pericles has idealised the excellences of the state he had exalted to a grandeur of supremacy so nobly contrasting with its diminutive extent, and insignificance in point of material resources, he sums up all the glories of the Athenian people in the fact that their commonwealth was not only the most admirably perfect training school of its own citizens, but served at the same time as the means of education (παλδευσίς) to the entire civilized world.**)

Oratory and public life hold the rank and position of a regular profession in the states of antiquity.

§. 3. At the period here referred to the principles of political existence which lived in the Hellenic race whilst remaining substantially the same, had nevertheless entered upon a new phase

*) See Plato Protag. p. 32 b. ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐκ διδασκάλων ἀπαλλαγῶσιν ἡ πόλις αὐτοὺς τε νόμους ἀναγκάζει μανθάνειν καὶ κατὰ τούτους ξῆν κατὰ παρὰδειγμα κ. τ. λ. Compare also Gorg. p. 517.

**) Thucyd. II, 41.

of development. The glory of the Dorian citizen had consisted in becoming the organ of the state, that of the Athenian was sought for in the acquisition of an intellectual dominion in, and over the state. The example of the extraordinary man to whom we have already referred had given the most striking and conspicuous proof of the more than regal authority which the *πρωτος ἀνὴρ* could wield in a government where scarcely the slightest check, or balance to the popular will had been suffered to exist. On the other hand the utter sweeping away of the support afforded by forms of state, and positive institutions, had driven the nation when deprived of the masterly intellect, and steadfast will, which had hitherto supplied the place of governmental organization, to throw itself in utter helplessness into the arms of the first bold and confident adventurer who undertook the responsibility of command. Honour and emolument in profusion, unlimited power, the more fascinating to a quick witted and aspiring people, from the acknowledgment of intellectual superiority which it involved, all contributed to render the ascendancy over the Athenian demos scarcely less alluring to every ardent and ambitious

spirit during the era of the great Peloponnesian contest than the occupancy of the throne itself had proved in the earlier periods of Grecian history. —

The Sophists.
Secret of their
influence.

§.4. The eager emulation which arose between the numerous competitors for the sovereignty over the popular will, as well as the refined fastidiousness and intellectual subtlety of the audience before whom their claims were to be approved, soon rendered the necessity for theoretical attainments and scientific training imperative upon all who aspired to distinction and success in the one great field of enterprise and activity for every Athenian. Public life had developed itself into a systematic and legitimate career, in which the correspondence of means to ends had become thoroughly understood; and the simple and purely general education of former ages was no longer found sufficient to satisfy the requirements of a mode of activity as refined and complicated in its workings as the professional industry of modern times. — To meet these demands, and to furnish to the noblest born, and most intelligent portion of the Athenian youth that scientific method which should serve at once as the canon for action, and the nucleus of future ex-

perience a new class of instructors, the Sophists, or professores artium, were called into existence.*) The limits of the present treatise do not permit us to enter into any detailed account of the history and doctrines of those remarkable men, respecting whose influence and importance opinions so various and conflicting have been entertained. Suffice it to say that in the circumstances above referred to many of the most singular and otherwise inexplicable peculiarities in their history and character find their full interpretation. In the fact that an actual profession — and one too of the highest order — had for the first time arisen in the social horizon, that new educational wants had preceded, and loudly called for their appearance we obtain a far more satisfactory explanation of the marvellous success which attended their teaching, the princely fortunes they amassed, and the rapturous enthusiasm with which they were welcomed, than can be discovered in any

*) ἦν (δεινότητα πολιτικὴν καὶ δραστήριον σύνεσιν) οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα μίξαντες τέχναις καὶ μεταγαγόντες ἀπὸ τῶν πρῶξεων τὴν ἄσκησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους σοφισταὶ προσηγορεύθησαν. Plut. vit. Themistocl. cited by Cresoll. Theatr. Rhet. I. 4.

fragmentary specimens of their literary productions which have come down to later ages.*) —

§. 5. The Sophists peculiarly addressed themselves to that thirst for intellectual supremacy, as expressed in the forms of political power, which was the master passion of that period.***) They declared themselves absolutely competent to afford a mastery of the secrets of power so complete as to enable its possessor to command the implicit obedience of his countrymen, and by able administration to derive the fullest advantage from the position to which he had thus attained. That an insight into causes, and an acquaintance with scientific method can have no other effect upon practical experience than that of endlessly increasing its precision and efficiency was a deeply rooted, and, characteristic conviction of the best era of Athenian ***) history.

*) 266. Roller, die Gr. Sophisten p. 2. Cresoll. Theatr. Rhet. V. 5.

**) Plato Gorg. pp. 452—454.

***) Thuc. II. 40. οὐ τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις βλάβην ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ προδιδαχθῆναι μᾶλλον λόγῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ ᾧ δεῖ ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν. See also Menander Fr. 267.

Ἕλληνες εἰσιν ἄνδρες οὐκ ἀγνώμονες,
καὶ μετὰ λογισμοῦ πάντα πράττουσιν τινος.

The very earliest orators endeavour to base their art upon certain theoretic principles, and the Sophists, as the sole possessors of the learning and systematic knowledge of that period, were long the instructors of the statesmen and advocates (*συνήγοροι*) who composed the higher world in the leading people of Greece. Not only do we read that men like Thucydides, Alcibiades and Theramenes were trained in the schools of the Sophists*), but even the most turbulent and contemptible demagogues are said to have found it expedient to adopt a similar course.**)

§. 6. That the existence of the Sophists is distinctly to be referred to the rise of the various professions connected with public life is evident from the fact that Protagoras, the most acute, and speculatively important amongst the apostles of the sect expressly describes himself in Plato as a teacher of political science.***) At a later period the chair assigned to this subject in the school of Athens was regularly held by a sophist. The elder sophists, it is

*) Ruhnken. *Dissertatio de Antiphonte*.

**) Aristoph. *Nub.* 875. cited in Bernhardt. *Grundriss der Gr. Litt.* I. p. 335.

***) Plato *Protag.* p. 168.

well known, were often employed in embassies and public missions in which the gravest public interests were concerned. The same connection between Sophistry and the grander forms of practical life is further attested in the frequency with which we find individuals of this class appointed to civil offices of a more than usually responsible and important nature. Isocrates himself is said to have acted as private secretary to Conon,*) and numerous instances of a similar nature are mentioned in the historians and biographers of the third and fourth centuries after Christ. As the most finished and highly cultivated form of oratory sophistry naturally stood in the closest relation with jurisprudence. Professors of the art are frequently described as acting both in the capacity of teachers and advocates Those of the number who confined themselves exclusively to legal practice (*οἱ μετὰ τῶν στανίδων καὶ τοῦ βήματος*) are said to have been held in lower estimation (*ἐντελέστεροι* **). The forensic sophists (*οἱ δικανικοὶ ῥήτορες*), ***) though often described as coming

*) Photius Bibl. Cod. 260.

**) Wernsdorf Vit. Nimerii p. 47.

***) Philostr. II. p. 509. Morell. The term *ῥήτωρ* as compared with *σοφιστής*, is employed to denote the Professor of legal and political oratory, in contradistinc-

off the worse in their encounters with the harder headed and more knowing *ἀγοραῖοι*, seem on the whole to have been regarded as the more educated and gentlemanly portion of the juristic body, and to have maintained with reference to the former a position analogous to that which the advocate as compared to the solicitor holds with us. Libanius in his epistles refers moreover to notable instances where Sophists had achieved a greater amount of success as lawyers than had fallen to the lot of their more practically trained antagonists.

§. 7. Born as it was out of a condition of daily increasing and ever more aggravated social disorder the vocation of the Sophist could not be otherwise than deeply tainted with the profligate and unprincipled character of the times in which it originated. The entire system furnished a complete reflex of the utter unbelief which had taken possession of the minds of men in the period intervening between the departure of

Inherent vices of the system. α

tion to those who taught the art in its more general bearings and power of application. Amongst the Romans the expression rhetor was used with reference to the teacher of Latin literature while *σοφιστής* denote one who publicly professed that of Greece. See Cresoll Theatr. Rhet. I. 1. 2.

the simple and ancestral faith of the nation, and the rise of the clear and steadfast convictions by which its place was ultimately destined to be supplied. Far from seeking to give the inward strength of truth and solid knowledge the Sophists made the denial of both the very keystone of their system of instruction. Objective reality of every kind they utterly impugned, maintaining that intellectual superiority simply consists in the power of producing a vividness of subjective impression in the minds of others. The baser and more paltry tendencies of sophistic education are conspicuously seen in the regular training which it furnished to the class of professional demagogues. Oratorical persuasiveness and power were of course recognised as the one great engine for working upon the passions of the populace. Fluency on a variety of topics, and dexterity in the use of that simpler logic which, as Aristotle tells us, the many are competent to appreciate and enjoy, also suggested themselves as well adapted to dazzle and astonish, even where more important results could not be secured. The instruction of the Sophists aimed accordingly at imparting an acquaintance with a system of political artifices, highly coloured and declamatory rhetoric, multifarious infor-

mation, and skill of fence in gladiatorial dialectics. *) —

§. 8. The apologists of this class of pseudo politicians have been fond of dwelling upon the fact that all the accounts we possess of the Sophists are derived from their avowed antagonists forgetting themselves to notice who these antagonists after all are. Unfortunately for those whose cause they espouse they happen to be in every instance precisely the most virtuous, most healthy minded, and most discerning men of the time. The entire age in the person of those who constitute its history has pronounced its unerring, and unalterable verdict upon the character and tendencies of the sophistic system. In spite of the unquestionably great abilities of the leading Sophists, their doctrine and plan of instruction was essentially antiphilosophic, **) and carried in its bosom the seeds of its own speedy dissolution. The shameless avowal of systematic

*) Aristoph. Nub. 267. 316. 444. sqq. Wachsmuth, Hellen. Alterthumskunde I. §. 62.

**) Compare the favourite, and characteristic dogma of Protagoras δύο λόγους εἶναι περὶ παντὸς πράγματος ἀντικειμένους ἀλλήλοις Diogen. Laert. quoted by Brandis Handbuch der Gesch. der Gr. Philos. I. p. 529.

selfishness, and the denial of the possibility of absolute knowledge,*) which formed the beginning and end of their creed was of course diametrically at variance with the scientific universality of all professional study, and thus contradicted the very first requirements of the education they were called upon to impart. —

Difference
between ear-
lier and la-
ter Sophists.

§.9. The great and striking difference between the earlier and latter professors of the sophistic art must not however be forgotten. Protagoras by no means disclaimed the intention of imparting a morally elevating mental culture to his pupils,**) and in all that concerns personal conduct and demeanour his character, like that of Gorgias and Prodicus, is invariably depicted by Plato in a spirit of marked admiration and respect. The elder Sophists seem never to have gone further than a dallying with scepticism, while Polus, Thrasymachus, Diagoras, and other younger representatives of the school gloried in

*) Brandis Handbuch der Gesch. der Gr. Philosophie I. p. 525 sqq. Roller die Gr. Sophisten. p. 21.

**) Plato Protag. p. 328. The liberality of spirit exhibited by Protagoras in all pecuniary transactions with his pupils is borne witness to by Plato in the same passage.

figuring as the advocates of the coarsest profligacy and atheism.*) —

§. 10. Thoroughly possessed as were even the most eminent and accomplished of the Sophists with the delusive notion of cultivating the intellect as a mere mechanical force capable of being turned indifferently to the accomplishment of good or evil,**) instead of recognising in the noblest element of humanity a faculty inseparably, and essentially associated with its own highest objects,***) the effects of their teaching

Redeeming
element in the
sophistic
system.

*) Brandis, Handbuch der Gr. Phil. I. pp. 543. 544.

**) Aristoph. Nub. 98. οὗτοι διδάσκουσ', ἀργύριον ἦν τις διδῶ, λέγοντα νικᾶν καὶ δίκαια κ' ἄδικα. According to Isocrates the art of the sophists consisted in rendering τὰ μὲν μεγάλα μικρὰ, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ μεγάλα. Cresoll. Theatr. Rhet. I. c. 11.

***) That Thought and Being are, so to say, antistrophic conceptions, that each plays over into, and reciprocally produces the other is a fundamental conviction of all the leading schools of Greek philosophy. —

This belief, though tacitly involved in numberless other speculations of earlier and more recent date, is perhaps nowhere so distinctly announced as in the well known passage of Parmenides 93. sqq.

ταυτὸν δ' ἐστὶ νοεῖν τε καὶ οὐνεκεν ἔστι νόημα·
οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ τοῦ ἔοντος, ἐν ᾧ πεφρατισμένον ἐστίν,
εὐρήσεις τὸ νοεῖν.

The original doctrine is however further amplified to the

could not fail to be most withering to the intellectual fertility, no less than to the honesty

extent of regarding Thought (τὸ νοεῖν) as the living principle, and origin of Being, while Being on the other hand is declared to be the living product, and perfected reality of Thought (ἐν ᾧ πεπρατισμένον ἔστίν). The one stands related to the other very much as in Aristotle the conception of the ἐνέργεια does to that of the ἐντελέχεια. (See Biese Philosophie des Aristoteles I. p. 497 Note 4.)

Without going farther into the consideration of so interesting and all comprehensive a question we may mention that the simplest and most popular ground upon which this doctrine is based is no doubt to be discovered in the axiom common to all the earlier schools that like can only be deeply discerned in its essentials by a sympathetic, and kindred like (similia similibus cognoscuntur). The Being of the thing known was believed to be not simply reflected, but to attain its own proper perfection, and to arrive at conscious existence in the knowledge of a sentient subject. — Hence the conclusion on the part of the Pythagoreans more especially that in discovering a permanency in cognition (the absolutely necessary in number and its relations) they had reached a permanent Being in Nature also (Brandis Rheinisches Museum. II. p. 215.). The Idea was regarded as the fountain alike of Thought and Being, constituting as it did the ὄντως Ὄν (Clemens Alexandrin. p. 453. Potter) on the one hand, and the ground of intelligibility on the other (Philolaus ed. Boeckh p. 49). — Intimately connected with this belief of the antients in the essential affinity of the Ὄν and the Νοεῖν is their doctrine that δύναμις and

and moral vigour of the generation upon which they exercised an influence so extensive and so powerful. At the same time is hardly necessary to say that we thoroughly agree with the general conclusion to which modern investigations on this subject seem gradually to have arrived. The magnitude and importance of the results produced by the Sophists upon the mental developement of their own people, and that of after times were unquestionably such as it would not be easy to overestimate. The healthful and vitally quickening influences inherent in all knowledge and 'active mindedness' seem in their case finally to have triumphed over the antisocial and disorganising tendencies which entered so largely into the theory of their system. Their invaluable services to the cause of letters as the originators of philology, criticism, and systematic erudition of every kind, are too well known to require mention in detail. Of far more importance, doubtless, than any positive results attained to in those subjects was the stimulative effect

οὐσία necessarily imply each other also (Plut. de Fato p. 570. Iambl. vit. Pyth. §.159. ὅρτα δ' ἥδει καὶ ἀνόμασε (ὁ Πυθαγόρας) τὰ αἶψα, καὶ αἰδία, καὶ μόνα δραστηνά.)

produced by their eristic and disputatious mode of instruction in every department of enquiry. Above all the sophists have the high merit of having called into existence a higher form of educational culture, which rapidly widening beyond its first narrow aims soon embraced within the compass of its influence many of those sciences which still rank amongst the most prominent subjects of professional study. We have already seen that oratory both political and forensic had received at their hands the regularity and consistency of an art practised in unison with ultimate principles of form, and subject matter. The statesman, the advocate, and the instructor by whom they were trained to the duties of their respective callings constituted in the states of antiquity the first rudimentary form of that upper middle order in society whose admitted equality with the noblest, rests, wholly irrespective of wealth or external advantages, upon the intelligence and refined liberality of nature arising from the peculiar type of education inseparably associated with the existence of such a body. An even more important step towards the beginning of academic life was taken in the public adoption of knowledge in some one of its varieties, no longer

as a mere dignified pastime, but as strenuous occupation and means of livelihood, as the one engrossing object of all the hopes, purposes, and energies of existence. The Sophists thus discovered for learning a solid ground of support, and established the activity and aims of higher and more spiritual being in the definite position, and recognised importance of one of the leading and permanent avocations of social life. The appearance of an entire class of individuals who not only derived support, but rose into fame, and princely affluence, simply by means of the knowledge they were enabled to convey, formed an epoch of the most momentous nature in the history of Greece, and of mankind. From the aptitude for a life of speculation peculiar to a race unparalleled for ingenuity and refinement of intellect, the calling of a teacher of learning soon became the favorite and most frequent pursuit of the entire people. The vast numbers who in the later ages of the empire devoted themselves to the profession of letters afforded a subject for many sarcasms to the satirical writers of the times. Lucian*) tells us that it would be an easier matter for one

*) Bis accusatus p. 798. Hemsterhus.

who was suddenly precipitated into a ship to avoid coming in contact with timber than to escape meeting a philosopher in a Greek city. Plutarch, in his treatise *de fraterno amore* *), quotes a saying of Aristarchus to the effect that, whereas in former times there had been only seven sages (*σοφισταί*) in all Greece, at the time at which he wrote it would be difficult to find as many individuals who were anything else. An unmistakeable evidence of the prominence and extent to which philosophers and Sophists figured in the eyes of the public is to be seen in the fact of their furnishing one of the most familiar characters, and standing subjects to the poets of middle and later comedy. **)

§. 11. The first fruits of the labours of the Sophists, in so far as the progress of education is concerned, are to be seen in the rise of distinct schools of Attic oratory. Eloquence had been embraced and studied as a separate profession even when the sophistical movement was still at its height. Antiphon ***), and Lysias, both of whom had gone forth from the instruction

*) p. 478.

**) See Meinecke Hist. Com. p. 288.

***) Ruhnk. opusc. De Antiphonte orat. Dietr.

of the Sophists, while regularly practising as advocates, laboured to discover the ratio of literary excellence, and officiated as teachers of eloquence in accordance with a systematic theory of the art. Antiphon was regarded as the inventor of the Attic type of forensic and political oratory, and in Lysias, according to an ancient critic*) that which seems most unstudied is in reality most artistic. We thus perceive that the higher education of the Greeks, although originating very much as among the Romans, and in the middle ages also, in the personal intercourse and oral instruction of eminent individuals, is distinguished from the first by the presence of that scientific and absolute character which, in conjunction with strictly defined speciality of application, constitutes the essential peculiarity of University instruction.

§. 12. The ancient conception of academic study, in which the former of these twin factors naturally predominated, received its final consummation from the vast and mighty reaction called forth by the Sophists against the most repulsive, and most dangerous tendencies of

Rise of Attic
philosophy.

*) Quoted by Gregor. Nazianz. Ep. 121. καὶ τὸ ἄτεχνον αὐτοῦ μάλλον ἐντεχνόν ἐστιν.

their system. The elements of a sound and noble temper were as yet too deeply rooted in the Hellenic, and, above all, in the Athenian temper, not to rest in rebellion against a scheme of doctrine which insulted the stern search after knowledge with the paltry contrivances of a juggling imposture, and prostituted the most godlike faculties of our nature to objects the vilest and most sinister. *) The vision of the Absolute darkened for a time in the minds of men revealed itself in Plato **) with a splendour and certainty hitherto undreamt of, affording the grandest refutation in point of fact to those traffickers in lying and deceit whose refinements in dishonesty all started from the notion that Truth could not be known, or, if known, could not possibly be communicated.

Schools of
Plato and Iso-
crates.

§. 13. The schools of Plato and Isocrates at the period at which we have now arrived completely discharged the functions of a University in Athens. The most distinguished individuals of the times with scarcely an exception received their mental training in one, or other of these

*) Clemens Alexandr. Str. I. p. 339. Potter.

**) Compare the words of Lucian Nigrin. p. 57. Hemsterhus. *ἀντὶ ἧς Φιλοσοφίας, καὶ Πλάτων, καὶ Ἀληθείας.*

seminaries. Isocrates is described, and assuredly with good reason by later writers, as occupying the chair of Sophistry in Athens (*θρόνον τῶν Ἀθηναίων*),*) and rising preeminent from amidst a crowd of similar teachers. His school, like that of Plato, embraced students from the most distant Greek colonies**); and many youths of noble, and even royal blood are said to have belonged to their number.***) As a professor of political science and rhetoric, the instruction of Isocrates was attended not only by those who, like Timotheus, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Hyperides, Aeschines &c.†), desired to prepare themselves for a career of practical efficiency, and distinction in the state, but by the historians Theopompus and Ephorus, and the tragedians Asclepiades and Theo-

*) Himerius orat. 32. §. 1 et 2. Cresoll Theatr. Rhetr. I. 2.

***) Cic. Brut. §. 8.

***) e. g. Nicocles the son of Euagoras king of Cyprus.

†) Dionys. Hal. *περὶ Ἴσοκρ.* §§. 2 et 5. Plut. X. orat. vit. p. 836. Phot. Biblioth. cod. 260. Cic. de orat. II. 22. Ecce tibi exortus est Isocrates, magister istorum omnium, cujus e ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, meri principes extiterunt. See also Ruhnken Hist. crit. orat. where the same circumstance is recorded of other worthies of this period.

deduces. If the example of Clearchus, the subsequent tyrant of Heraclea*), may be regarded as establishing the rule, the term of study occupied four years, and the fee for the entire course amounted to a thousand drachmae.**)

Many of the above mentioned personages are mentioned as having attended the teaching of Plato likewise. Demosthenes more especially is related upon good authority to have been an earnest and attentive listener to the discourses of the loftiest of thinkers.***)

In the case of the students of oratory such a course was no doubt adopted with the view of giving greater amplitude and depth of thought to the political instruction of Isocrates, and also from a desire to perfect themselves in acumen of reasoning and argumentative power.

§. 14. The beginnings of even the external organisation of the University date from the same period in the history of Athenian culture. In their intimacy of relation to each other, and the distinct, yet kindred manner in which they

*) Memnon περί Ἡρακλείας Müller Fr. Historicor. II. p. 876.

**) Photius Bibl. p. 793. Hosch.

***) Cic. Brutus. C. 31. Dial. de orat. §. 32. Plut. X. orat. vit. p. 844.

respectively laboured to accomplish the great ends of educational discipline the schools of Isocrates and Plato distinctly represent an earlier form of the Faculties of modern academic instruction. So marked and characteristically important was the position they maintained that, with the vitality inherent in every arrangement resting upon something beyond mere individual efficiency, they not only survived their original founders, but, by means of a series of regularly appointed successors (*διάδοχοι*), gradually ripened into permanently established, and, so to say, national institutions.*)

§. 15. The appearance of a philosophy unequalled, then, or since, for sublimity of contemplation, moral vitality, and rigorous acuteness of dialectic produced the usual lifegiving effects of such a phenomenon upon knowledge and education in all its forms. The learned and philological subjects discussed by Hippias and Prodicus grew under the hands of Aristotle into a precision and substantiality which, when compared with the capricious and popular character they had hitherto maintained, presented a contrast even more decided than that existing between

Aristotle.

*) Dion. Halicarn. de struct. orat. §. 70.

the ontology of Plato, and the shifting notionism of the Sophists. In Aristotle, more especially, the science and educational culture of the ancient world reached its highest consummation. Knowledge and instruction purified and exalted above all anxiety respecting appearances commenced in thoughtful observation, and yearned upwards through steadfast toil and energy of intellectual effort towards the ideal transformation*) (*τὸ ἀποφθαναίξεν*), of humanity. Discovery and advance, we are everywhere given to understand, is the result, neither of a priori nor a posteriori investigation exclusively, but of a combination of both, or rather of a prophetic foreboding and preoccupation of ultimate principles brought into living union with the most thorough mastery of individual particulars.**)

§. 16. The admirably just and accurate conception of the norm of scientific progress brought to light by Aristotle could not fail to give a prodigious impulse to that freer education in which, as we have seen, knowledge is imparted dynamically, and in the very act and process of its

*) Eth. Nicom. X, 7.

**) Brandis Aristoteles. p. 45.

own productivity. The general outlines marked out in the instruction of the Sophists became only the starting point for a mode of study equally direct and practical, while rising immeasurably in dignity, power, and amplitude, in consequence, its more intimate conjunction with the elements of higher speculation, and philosophic certainty. No slight approximation to the essentials of the principle of conveying the widest and most elevated wisdom in and through a liberal training for the forms of definite action is observable in those learned institutions which everywhere started into existence in the most populous and flourishing cities of the vast empire embraced by the language and civilization of Greece under the successors of Alexander.

§. 17. The Museum,*) or academic corporation

Museum of
Alexandria,
and schools
of Athens.

*) For an account of the Museum see Strabo XVII, 9. Fr. Gronov. De Museo Alexandrino Thesaur. Antiq. Gr. VIII, 2741—60. and L. Neocor. d. M. A. ib. 2767—78. The building was situated in the quarter of Alexandria called the Brychion, and formed together with the library a part of the Royal Palace. That these appointments possessed something of the snug and luxurious character attaching to collegiate appointments in England may be concluded from the words of Timon, the sceptic and sillograph (Athenaeus I, 41.), where he describes the members of this society as 'fed in the fattening cage of the

of Alexandria, which with its Rector (*ἱερέυς* *), its dining hall (*συσσίτιον*), cloisters (*ἐξεδρα*), and grounds (*περίπατος*), presents so singular a coun-

Muses.' (*Βόσκονται Μουσέων ἐν ταλάρῳ*.) The Museum was thoroughly regarded in the light of an important institution of the state, and after the subjugation of Egypt by the Romans continued to be maintained by the Emperors.

Poets also, as well as scholars and men of science, were attached to the *κύκλος*, or society of the Museum, though probably more as a species of literary pensioners than as constituting a part of the regular staff of the institution. — In Boeckh (*Corpus Inscr. Gr. Pars XXIX. Sect. III. 47. 48.*) an *Ὀμηρικὸς ποιητὴς ἐκ Μουσείου* is mentioned. Under the later Emperors persons who did not reside in Alexandria were also appointed members. Gräfenhahn *G. d. Cl. Litt. III. p. 51.* Zumpt *über den Bestand der philosoph. Schulen in Athen. p. 20. Anm. 4. —*

Certain learned festivals were regularly celebrated in the Museum, and bore apparently some analogy to the Commemorations of the English Universities. It was on some annually recurring occasion of this kind that the writings of the Emperor Claudius were publicly read. *Suet. vit. Claud. c. 42.* Celebrations of this nature seem, indeed, not to have been unusual in the academic life of the ancients. Even the *ἐπιδείξεις* of the Sophists were succeeded by a half holiday. See Liban. *πρὸς τὰς τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ βλασφημίας* p. 281.

*) So called from the fact that this official was at the same time the priest, either of Apollo and the Muses,

terpart to the external forms of English collegiate life, was entirely organised in accordance with a system of professorial Faculties. The teachers of this institution, and of course the students also, were distributed amongst the several departments of Philosophy Medicine and Philology, a classification almost literally corresponding with the traditional arrangements of modern Universities. That this form and principle of higher education was at all peculiar to the University of the Ptolemies, except in so far as it exhibited the most complete, and richly furnished institution of the kind with which the world was then acquainted, is the more improbable from the fact that in all other respects, and especially in the social and collegiate arrangements just referred to, the Museum of Alexandria was, we find, a perfect copy of the principal schools in

or of the contiguous temple of Serapis. It affords some confirmation to the latter view of the subject that the *νεωκόρος* of the temple of Serapis is expressly mentioned in inscriptions as a member of this association (*τῶν ἐν Μουσείῳ σιτουμένων ἀτελῶν* Boeckh Corpus Inscr. XXIX. §. 3. No. 4724.). The Rector of the Museum was probably invested with this sacerdotal office very much in the same way as deaneries, and other ecclesiastical dignities are at present attached to college appointments in England; and possibly also for the purpose of sur-

Athens. We have it on the clearest evidence that the Peripatetics and philosophers of the Academy had gradually assumed the consistency of distinctly organised and corporate bodies. The will of Theophrastes preserved in Diogenes Laertius*) bequeathes to the sect over which he presided the buildings in which he taught (*μουσείον*), (also called *διατριβή*), with adjacent grounds (*τὸν κήπον καὶ τὸν περίπατον*). The former is described as furnished with a library, maps &c. and adorned, like the chapel (*ἐκκλῆσιον*) of the society, with a statue of the founder of the sect, and those of certain tutelary divinities.**) The individuals attached to each schools in the capacity of teachers and disciples were in the

rounding him with a certain nimbus of sanctity in the eyes of the Orientals.

*) V. 51. sqq.

**) Those doubtless of Apollo, the Muses and the Graces, which by a custom derived apparently, like many other peculiarities of the academic life of the ancients, from the Pythagoreans, formed a regular part of the furniture of the lecture rooms of philosophers and Sophists. The circumstance that the number of tutelary divinities was thus not unfrequently larger than that of the audience is often alluded to in the bon mots and epigrams of antiquity. See Jacobs Anthol. III. p. 279. 602.

practice of dining together*) on certain regular and stated occasions, a part of the arrangements of the sect which Aristotle considered of so much importance as himself to draw up a code of laws

*) The *σύνοδοι*, *συνπόσια* and *συσσίτια* of the philosophers like those politically established in certain states of Greece arose out of the conception of the most perfect and entire intimacy of friendship amongst the individuals of whom they were composed. In the words of Plutarch, such an association was regarded as a *διαγωγή εἰς φιλίαν ὑπὸ χάριτος τελεντώσα*. It was designed at once to ratify, and express a degree of attachment which had ripened into a union like that of actual brotherhood. Every such society was founded upon a supposed relationship of its various members; and like the family circle composed a species of little state (Müllers Dorians II. p. 237.) Associations of this nature particularly abounded in Thebes, and in this circumstance we may very possibly recognise a trace of the Pythagorean influences which, we know, were at all times particularly powerful in that city. (See Polyb. Fr. libri XX. c. 6. 6. cited by Zumpt über den Bestand der philosoph. Schulen in Athen p. 15.) So powerful was this striving after the strictest and closest forms of social life in the ancient schools of philosophy that attempts were made to cement their union with each other by ties and interests of a still stronger, more permanent, and more unmistakeably domestic nature. Aristotle and Epicurus in their wills both expressed a desire that their daughters, and those who held in their affections an equivalent position, should be

given in marriage to one of the academic fraternity. Diogen. Laert. V. 9. X. 17.

The ancient Greeks seem not to have yielded to the modern English in their partiality for the principle of public dinners. Every regularly recurring event of national importance, every association for the accomplishment of some worthy common end warmed into a tone of kindly good fellowship (*φιλοφροσύνη*), and easy familiarity, by being frequently commemorated in small assemblages of a convivial description. Athenaeus (*Deipnosoph.* V, 2.) enumerates whole classes of public *συνπόσια* (*φυλετικά, δημοτικά, θίασοι, φρατρικά, ὀργεωνικά*) which are described as regularly instituted by their wisest legislators and statesmen. The philosophers one and all recognised this national usage as furnishing a means for the accomplishment of the noblest and most exalted ends, and the *συσσίτια* were adopted in every variety of forms as one of the most important and effective elements of their system of academic education. The *συνπόσια* referred to a little farther on in the text seem to have been composed of the mass of the students, whose number of course was too great to permit of their constantly dining with each other. The *συσσίτια* on the other hand seem to have been embraced only the seniors, and so to say the graduates of the school (*οἱ συμφιλοσοφούντες, συσχολάζοντες*. Plut. *symposiac.* p. 677.), who acted as assistants, and as a species of deliberative assembly in concert with the chief of the sect. The discussions which took place on these occasions exhibited philosophy in its lighter, gayer, more genial, and more versatile moods (Plutarch *symposiac.* I. pp. 563. 614.). Questions were proposed, not of a knotty and abstruse nature, but such as gave play to ingenuity, wit, and high bred elegance of mind. —

It was to one of those parties that the compliment addressed by Timotheus to Plato '*vestrae coenae non solum in praesentia, sed etiam postero die jucundae sunt*' (Cic. Tusc. V. 100. Plut. symposiac. init.) had reference. The significance of the symposia, as a prominent part of the institutions designed to promote the moral discipline of the ancient schools, may be gathered from the number of writings in which a similar artistic form has been selected as the most suitable vehicle for the communication of the highest and most vitally momentous doctrines of philosophy (Plutarch symposiac. I. p. 612.)

The minor regulations observed in these meetings probably differed with each of the leading philosophical sects. Some particulars of the code of rules adhered to by the Peripatetics on certain occasions of this kind are alluded to in Athenaeus *Deipnosoph.* XII. p. 547. We are there informed that the individual appointed to superintend the moral conduct of the younger members of the sect remained in office for the space of one month, and when about to resign his authority into the hands of his successor invited those over whom he had presided to a banquet to which nine obols were contributed by each of the guests. Strangers and older members of the school were not unfrequently entertained on these occasions. From the accounts given by Athenaeus and Aulus Gellius the repast seems to have been of the most simple and frugal description (Noct. Att. XII. 8. Athen. *Deipnos.* X. 14.). Under Lycon however (Athen. XII. 69.) it became so preposterously extravagant and luxurious as quite to defeat the purposes of such an institution, the sum contributed not sufficing to provide even perfumes and garlands for the banquet. With Menedemus the opposite extreme prevailed to such a degree

that it became necessary for the company to take the precaution of dining before hand (Diog. Laert. II. 15.). This arrangement, it need hardly be mentioned, was received with intense disgust on the part of the public (*κατεφρονεῖτο κύων καὶ λῆρος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑσπερίων ἀκούων*).

Three several associations of this nature were in existence amongst the Stoics. The Antipatristae, Diogenistae, and Panaetiaetae (Athen. V. 2. p. 146.), so called from the successive masters of the school, Antipater of Tarsus, Diogenes of Babylon, and Panaetius of Rhodes. (Zumpt über den Bestand der philosoph. Schulen in Athen p. 15.). At the Halcyonea, a feast in memory of Halcyoneus, son of Antigonus Gonatas, for which funds were supplied by that monarch, philosophers of all sects met together. The duty of entertaining the company seems to have been annually taken in turn by the heads of each. (Diogen. Laert. IV. 41, and V. 68. quoted by Zumpt über den B. der ph. Sch. in Athen p. 16.)

The younger members of the various schools were, as before mentioned, frequently invited to assemblies of this description at the house of the head of the sect (Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. XVII. 8.). Much of course here depended upon the social gifts and graces of the academic Amphitryon, and something likewise upon the refinement and spiritualmindedness of his guests. The philosopher Menedemus was in the habit of asking two or three of the class to dinner, and inviting the rest for the evening. Wary and experienced seniors, it is said, contrived to hang about the door, and obtain information from the first comers with reference to the nature of the repast which awaited them, incontinently disappearing from the scene, unless undoubted, and most trust-

worthy assurances of a hot substantial supper were obtained. Athen. Deipn. X. 15.

Similar associations existed to a very considerable extent amongst the younger portion of the various philosophic sects (*convivia juvenum*). They appear to have borne a much greater resemblance to the *Commerschen* and *Burschenschaften* of German students at the present day than to the regular hall dinners of English Universities. Aulus Gellius tells us that the young Romans who studied the same subjects, and attended the same instructors in Athens (*qui Romani in Graeciam veneramus, quique easdem auditiones eosdemque doctores colebamus*) formed a sort of club, and regularly dined together once a week (*hebdomadibus lunæ Noct. Att. XVIII. 4.*), and on feast days. Here the office of *συνπρωσίαρχος* went through the whole body in rotation, questions of a lighter nature were discussed, prizes given,* fines imposed, and the sum thus collected served in part to defray the expences of the next *coenacula* (XVIII. 13.)

No ancient writer furnishes so distinct, and at the same time so joyous and genial a picture of the ancient academic life of Athens as the one we have just referred to. The simple and innocent enjoyments of his University period seems in the case of Aulus Gellius to have given a lasting tinge to the whole of the after existence of the man. He descants with infinite delight upon the pleasant evening parties at the house of Taurus (Noct. Att. XVII. 8.), with his lively and quick witted Athenian *famulus*, on the tone of modesty and cheerful enjoyment (*hilare et modestum*), which gave relish to the simple repast, and the sailing parties on the Aegean between Athens and Aegina during deliciously soft summer even-

(νόμοι συμποτικοί),*) for its better regulation. Theophrastus, we are informed by Athenaeus, expressly provided for the maintenance of this custom by means of a pecuniary bequest.**)

The original property of the Academic school had, we are told by Photius,***) been augmented more than three hundred fold by successive benefactions. The disciples of Polemo are said to have established their abode in the

ings in the companionship of youthful friends and associates. (Nox fuit et clemens mare, et anni aestas coelumque liquide serenum. Sedebamus ergo in puppi universi, et lucentia sidera considerabamus.)

The *συσσίτιον* of Plato, we are told, consisted of twenty eight (Athenaeus *Deipnosoph.* I. 7.). That of the Peripatetics, if we may judge from the wills of Theophrastus, Strato, and Lycon, appears at first to have comprised only ten members. Not only buildings, but furniture and plate (*στρώματα καὶ ποτήρια*) are often mentioned as bequeathed to the societies thus constituted (Diog. Laert. V. 2—3. 4. 9.).

*) καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις δὲ ἦν ἐπιμελὲς συνάγουσι τοὺς νέους μετ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τινα τεταγμένον νόμον εὐωχεῖσθαι· τοῦ γοῦν Ξενοκράτους ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ καὶ πάλιν Ἀριστοτέλους συμποτικοὶ τινες ἦσαν νόμοι. Athen. *Deipnos.* V. 2. p. 186.

**) κατέλιπε δὲ Θεόφραστος εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην σύνοδον χρήματα. Athen. *Deipnos.* V. p. 186.

***) Biblioth. p. 565. Hoesch. See also Suid. s. v. Πλάτων.

neighbourhood of the head of the school,*) and the grounds of the Academy were laid out at the expense of Attalus king of Pergamus.**) In obedience to the same general tendency Epicurus made over a house and grounds to his followers, and, as an additional means of strengthening the sense of the bond of union and true kindredship which held them together, ordered by will a sum of money to be invested suf-

*) Diog. Laert. IV. 35. An even closer union between the professor and his class seems to have prevailed at Alexandria, where Gniphos is said by Suetonius (illustr. gram. c. 7.) to have belonged to the *contubernium* of Dionysius Scythobrachion. Persaeus, the friend and disciple of Zeno, is in a similar manner said to have lived in the same house with his master. Apollonius Rhodius is also mentioned as (Athen. Deipn. XII. 86.) having resided on the same familiar footing with Callimachus, and Galen (de libr. propr. I. XIX (K) p. 43.) relates that when sent by his father to study under Chrysippus he took up his abode along with the philosopher. See Lehrs stud. Aristarchi. p. 16. Note. The sons of the highest Roman nobility were occasionally boarded in the houses of academic teachers. Thus Augustus when studying at Apollonia resided in the family of the philosopher Areus (Sueton. vit. Octavian. c. 89.). That no such usage ordinarily existed in the later University life of the Greeks is evident from Liban. Ep. 393.

**) Alluded to by Horace Ep. II. 45. *Inter silvas Academi quaerere verum.*

ficient in amount to defray the expences of a banquet to his disciples on the twentieth of each month (ἐκάστου μηνὸς τοῖς εἰκάσιν)*), and also on the anniversary of his birth.***) In a manner precisely similar, as we learn from Plutarch***), the birthday of Plato was annually celebrated by his admirers. Of the extreme importance attached in Athens to everything which could contribute to give definite form, and visible reality to the academic body we have a remarkable instance in the correspondence of Cicero. In one of his *Epistolae ad Familiares* †) he requests Memmius on behalf of Patro, the existing head of the Epicurean sect, to waive the right already conceded by the Areopagus of taking possession of the house of Epicurus. Patro tenaciously insisted upon the duty incumbent upon him, as *διάδοχος*, of preserving for the society the original seat of the school (*honorem, officium, testamentorum, jus, Epicuri auctoritatem, Phaedri obtestationem, se-*

*) Hence the term *Icadistae* popularly given to the Epicureans. Aegid. Menag. ad Diog. Laert. X. 18.

**) Diog. Laert. X. 10. 17. sqq.

***) *Symposiac.* p. 715.

†) XIII. 1.

dem, domicilium, vestigia summorum hominum sibi tuenda esse dicit.)

§. 18. Any dissimilarity which existed between Athens and Alexandria arose doubtless from the fact that the latter did not exhibit the anomalies and excrescencies of successive experiments, but only came into existence at a time when the results of long experience had caused the nature of these institutions to be comparatively well understood. A farther difference is known to have been occasioned by the prominence assigned to peculiar subjects of study in each — a circumstance perfectly analogous with what we shall hereafter have occasion to notice in many of the most famous Universities of later times. In the three centuries which intervened between Alexander and Augustus Athens was preeminently the training school for philosophy, Rhodes, on the other hand, as the only Greek state of political importance in which a career of grand and dignified activity was open for the orator, distinguished itself in the study of eloquence, while Alexandria rested its fame chiefly on the excellence of its instruction in Philology and Medicine.*) At a subsequent

*) Gräfenhahn *Gesch. der Class. Philol. im Alterthum*. I. p. 352. C. G. Zumpt, über den Bestand der philosoph.

period the last mentioned University obtained
ever greater celebrity as having given birth to a
school of philosophers who endeavoured to com-
bine into a species of theosophic doctrine the
mental science of Europe with the more spir-
itual minded and profoundly human religions

Schulen zu Athen und die Succession der Scholarchen.
pag. 4.

In consequence of this almost exclusive celebrity in
one department of knowledge we find that in later ages
it was a frequent practice to supplement the instruction
of one University by that of another. Gregory of Na-
zianz studied first at Caesarea, then at Alexandria and
finally at Athens. St. Basil visited as a student Caesa-
rea, Constantinople, and Athens in succession. Gregor.
Nazianz. orat. XX. p. 35.

A medical degree of Alexandria was regarded as a
passport to professional success. Pro omni experimento
sufficiat medico ad commendandam artis auctoritatem si
Alexandriae se dixerit eruditum. Ammian. Marcell. 22. 16.
cited by C. Neocori Diatr. de Museo Alexandrino. Anat-
omy, Surgery, Botany, and Pathology were cultivated at
Alexandria with peculiar success. Bernhardt Grundr.
der Gr. Litt. I. p. 383. Respecting the important posi-
tion which family physicians held in the higher circles
at Rome during the empire see in the same work I.
p. 395. Persons of this class were often described as
invested with the highest dignities of state. A certain
Arcadius is addressed by Himerius (orat. 33.) as Ἀρχία-
ρχος καὶ Κόμης (i. e. Comes sacri Palatii.)

of the East. In the third century Alexandria became conspicuous as the headquarters of the Eclectics and Neo-Platonists. Ammonius Saccas, the preceptor of Origen, Porphyrius, Polemon, Plotinus, and many others scarcely inferior in renown are mentioned as having taught in its schools. *)

§. 19. Many of those who attended the teaching of these institutions unquestionably proposed to themselves no further end than the finished completion of a liberal education. At a somewhat later period Marcus Cicero, Bibulus, Varus, Messalla, Horace, Ovid &c. frequented the schools of Athens very much in the same manner as men of fortune at the present day attend the Universities with the view of obtaining a general preparation for political and literary life. This however, then as now, can only have been the case with a very small fraction of the aca-

*) Originating with Ammonius in Alexandria as a species of mystical doctrine Neo-platonism was propagated by Plotinus in Rome, maintained in Italy by the labours of Amelius and Porphyrius, and finally transplanted into Syria by Jamblichus. Zumpt über den Bestand der philosoph. Schul. zu Athen. Bernhardt Grundriss der Gr. Litt. I. pp. 401 and 429.

demic population. When we read that no less than two thousand students attended the lectures of Theophrastus alone, and that the number of those who collected around this philosopher and other teachers of suspected political honesty*) became so formidable that decrees were passed forbidding any one to exercise such an office without a special licence from the senate and demos**) we cannot but conclude that the great majority was composed of the youth of the middle class, in combination with choicer specimens of the lower orders. Persons belonging to these walks in life, however ambitious of deriving benefit from the refining influences of University education, would have been utterly unable to afford the time and money necessary for such an object, had there not been the prospect of an adequate material compensation, in the shape of professionally available knowledge. This inference derives greater

*) Alexid. *Ἰνπεύς* Meinecke Fr. com. III. p. 42. Diog. Laert. V. 2. 37. Niebuhr Vorles. über alte Gesch. III. p. 118. Anm. 2.

**) The philosophers of this period were generally friendly to absolutism, or at all events hostile to democracy. See Zumpt, über den Bestand der philosoph. Sch. zu Athen p. 17. Anm. 3.

probability when we consider the very great number of similar institutions which flourished at the same period, each, of course, the gathering point of a considerable body of academic students. Besides schools of high eminence in Mytilene, Ephesus, Smyrna, Sidon*) etc., we read that Apollonia**) enjoyed so high a reputation for eloquence and political science as to be entrusted with the education of the heir-apparent of the Roman Empire. Antioch was noted for a Museum modelled after that of the Egyptian metropolis***), and Tarsus boasted of gymnasia and a University which Strabo does not hesitate to describe as more than rivalling those of Athens and Alexandria.†) There can be little doubt that the philosophers, rhetoricians, and grammarians who swarmed in the princely retinues of the great Roman aristocracy††), and whose

*) Gräfenhahn Gesch. der Class. Litt. I. pp. 334. 408. Respecting the number of higher schools in Asia see also Bernhardt Grundr. der Gr. Litt. I. p. 398.

**) Sueton. vit. Octav. c. 8.

***) Gräfenhahn Gesch. der Class. Litt. I. p. 409.

†) Geogr. XIV. p. 960. ὡςθ' ὑπερβεβλημένας καὶ Ἀθηνας καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ εἰ τινα ἄλλον τόπον δυνατόν εἶπεν.

††) A terrible picture of the inhuman treatment to which many of this class were subjected in Rome is

schools abounded in all the most wealthy and populous cities of the empire east and west, were prepared for their several callings in some one or other of these institutions. Strabo tells us that Rome was overrun with Alexandrian and Syrian grammarians,*) and Juvenal describes one of the Quirites of the ancient stamp as emigrating in sheer disgust from a city which from these causes had become thoroughly and utterly Greek.**) That external inducements were held out amply sufficient to prevail upon poor and ambitious men to qualify themselves at some cost for vocations of this description is evident from the wealth to which, as we are

given in Lucian de Mercede conductis (see especially p. 702 sqq.). The author admits however that the hardships of their lot were often richly deserved (p. 700.), and that the humiliations and indignities to which men of learning were necessarily exposed when depending for existence upon private individuals could not occur in the case of those who were employed by the state (p. 719.) That the conversation of men of this class was often highly prized, and they themselves treated with the most delicate and deferential courtesy is evident from the biographies of all the nobler Romans. Plut. vit. Cat. pp. 224. 229. 275.

*) Geogr. XV. p. 962.

**) Sat. III. l. 60.

told, many of them rose from extreme indigence and obscurity. Suetonius in the still extant fragment of his essay *de claris rhetoribus*, after alluding to the immense number of professores and doctores met with in Rome, draws attention to the frequency with which individuals who had distinguished 'as teachers of rhetoric had been elevated into the senate, and advanced to the highest dignities of the state. *) That the profession of a philologist was occasionally at least well remunerated is evident from the facts recorded by the same author in his work *de claris grammaticis*. **) He there mentions that there were at one time upwards of twenty well attended schools devoted to this subject at Rome, and that one fortunate individual Q. Remmius Palaemon derived four hundred sesterces, or considerably above three thousand a year, from instruction in philology alone. Julius Caesar conferred the citizenship, together with large bounties in money, and immunity from public burthens, ***) on distinguished rhetoricians

*) Innumerable instances are furnished in the biographies of later sophists.

**) §. 3.

***) *Ἀτέλεια*. This privilege was frequently conferred upon philosophers and men of learning in the Greek

and philologists, in order to encourage their presence at Rome. *) The numerous instances in which distinguished grammarians were advanced to offices of greater dignity and leisure furnished probably even a more powerful incitement to those who were desirous of embracing erudition as a profession. Augustus selected an individual of this class, Verrius Flaccus, as the private tutor of his grandchildren, **) and the practice introduced of assigning the superintendence of public libraries to professional philologists was faithfully adhered to under the later Roman Emperors. ***)

§. 20. That individuals who thus enjoyed an income not greatly below the revenues of an English Bishopric were not, as the name might lead us to imagine, employed in teaching the accidents of grammar, but possessed considerable

states. See Diog. L. vit. Pyrrhon. c. 5. An edict of Constantine quoted by Bernhardt Gr. der Gr. Litt. extends the enjoyment of this exemption to the wives and families of deceased professors. *Uxores etiam et filios eorum ab omni functione, et ab omnibus muneribus publicis vacare praecepimus.*

*) Sueton. vit. Caes. c. 42.

**) Sueton. de cl. Gr. c. 17.

***) Sueton. de cl. Gramm. c. c. 20. 21.

pretensions to that higher and more thoughtful character of the scholar which it has been reserved for modern Europe to exhibit in perfection, is not only in itself highly probable, but supported by the distinctest and most unimpeachable evidence. Seneca tells us that history was amongst the subjects professed by grammarians, and Cicero regards the most thorough and refined perception of all that pertains to the spirit and individuality of the author as an indispensable requisite in those who undertake to give instruction in this subject.*) Aulus Gellius abounds in instances where questions of aesthetic criticism are discussed by grammarians,**) and Suetonius asserts that rhetoric, or the practical application of the principles of literary excellence was also expected from such individuals. — Victorinus, quoted by Graefenhahn in his history of classical literature in the times of antiquity***), sums up the different heads of this subject as consisting of lectio, or correctness of expression, enarratio, or ex-

*) Quoted by Passow *Leben und Zeitalter von Horaz* p. 8. Anm. 13.

**) Noct. Att. II. 6. IX. 9. 10.

***) III. p. 27.

position of the meaning of the author, emendatio, or criticism of the text, and aestimatio, or an estimate of the artistic character of the work. *) Even the name 'philologus' began to be assumed in token of the varied, and scientific character of the attainments of the professional grammarian. The title however never seems to have become frequent amongst the Romans, with whom such individuals were more commonly known as literati, docti, eruditi, or professores. **)

§. 21. The grammatici appear to have occupied a position very closely analogous to that of the teachers of collegiate schools in England, and the gymnasial professors in Germany. In accordance with this view of their character we find them universally described amongst ancient writers as holding a rank intermediate between the elementary teachers, and the rhetorician, or academic professor of literature. ***) They are

*) See also Zonaras Lex. Γραμματική· ἡ ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεύσιν ὡς ἐπιτόκον λεγόμενον. Higher scholarship and criticism was known amongst the Greeks as the γραμματικὴ μεγάλη, or ἐντελής Gräfenh. Gesch. der class. Phil. I. p. 343.

**) Gräfenh. Gesch. der class. Phil. IV. p. 53.

***) Gräfenhahn Gesch. der class. Litt. IV. 53.

invariably recognised as a liberally educated class of men, and their office is rarely spoken of otherwise than with the respect and deference accorded of right to a learned profession. In this respect the grammatici present an utter contrast to the ludimagistri (*γραμματισταί**), or teachers of the *γραμματικὴ μικρά*), whose condition and social status seems to have been even more cheerless and unfortunate than that of our own elementary and parish schoolmasters. Persons of this class taught in the market place and under awnings (*pergulae*).**) The story of Virginia shows that girls also attended schools at an early period of antiquity.***) They were most probably of the same rudimentary description, though we learn from Martial†) that a later aera grown up maidens were instructed in the higher branches of elegant literature. The vocation of the *γραμματικοί* consisted in giving finish and completion to that propaedeutic course of study which the Greeks denoted as the *ἐγ-*

*) Zonaras. *Γραμματιστής· ὁ τὰ πρῶτα στοιχεῖα διδάσκων*. Compare Suid. s. v. and Rittershus. ad Porphyrr. p. 75.

**) Gräfenhahn *Gesch. der class. Phil.* IV. p. 26.

***) Perizon. ad Aelian. III. 21.

†) Epigr. VIII. 3. XI. 4.

κύκλια μαθήματα, and which in the later ages of the Roman empire was known under the name of the Trivium and Quadrivium. Passages in proof of this assertion are perpetually met with in all ancient writers who touch upon the subject of education. We will at present merely refer to Photius Biblioth. p. 563 extr. Hoesch., where Pamprepius, the grammarian, is described as teaching the προπαιδεία, in so far as grammar and poetry were concerned. In the same manner Clemens Alexandrinus describes the ἐγκύκλια as simply preparatory in their nature.*)

§. 22. Before passing from this portion of the subject it may not be without interest to remark that Quintilian, one of the ablest and most sagacious writers who has ever treated of education, strenuously and pointedly insists that the study of Greek should *precede* that of Latin.**) Even during the more cultivated

*) See also Suid. s. Παμπρέπιος and Ὠκυμένης.

**) Institut. orat. I, 1, 12. A sermone Graeco puerum incipere malo, quia Latinus, qui pluribus in usu est, vel nobis nolentibus se praebeat, simul quia disciplinis quoque Graecis prius instituendus est, unde et nostrae fluxerunt. Quoted by Gräfenhahn Gesch. der class. Philol. IV. p. 29.

periods of the republic — at least in that aera which Cicero describes as the golden age of Latin eloquence — all higher and more liberal minded instruction in the one language was held to be concomitant, and, in a manner synonymous with a similar acquaintance with the other. The most profound and enlightened appreciation of the peculiar excellencies of the national literature was thought to be alone attainable when the study of Roman authors was blended in a perfectly balanced and indissoluble union with a knowledge of the most admirable productions of those of Greece. *)

§. 23. With the more clearly defined and strictly systematic arrangement which the different portions of the educational cursus began to assume shortly after the age of Aristotle we find that the subjects of highest mental training, when considered somewhat in the abstract, and with reference to their general character and tendency, are all embraced under the common name of philosophy. That this department of knowledge was not unreasonably regarded as preeminently in accordance with the aims and spirit of University study will be suf-

*) Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte* Band II. p. 406.

ficiently evident from what has been previously pointed out as the essential attributes of the latter. We are not however to imagine (though the vague and declamatory language of the writers on these subjects would undoubtedly favour such a conclusion) that mere metaphysics — itself a separate and particular branch of inquiry — was intended to monopolize the undivided attention of those who frequented the highest schools of intellect. Such an inference is at variance with the fact that totally different subjects, such as grammar, rhetoric, and medicine were actually taught in the schools of the time; and, though nothing can be more natural or likely than that those who mainly devoted themselves to one of these subjects may have attended instruction in another also, we know from the testimony of Aulus Gellius the jealous vigilance with which the distinct limits of the several faculties were guarded.*) Philosophy therefore, in passages such as these above alluded to, can only be intended to denote that absolute and elevated form which every branch of knowledge assumes when studied in a comprehensive spirit, and carried to the ideal per-

*) Noct. Att. X. 19.

fection of its own proper nature. As bearing moreover immediately upon questions deeply associated with all that is most momentous to the individual and the state, the science of mind not unnaturally became the 'solar' study to all those who attended the teaching of the ancient Universities not with a view to qualify themselves for any particular learned profession, but simply in order to obtain that clearness of intellect, and confirmed mastery of the noblest principles of thought and action which would enable them to enter upon the grander usefulness of public life with at least the conditions of forethought and design.*) This class it must be further borne in mind was precisely the one which comprised those individuals from whose biographies our acquaintance with the details of ancient Universities is mainly derived.

*) Dial. de orator. §. 30. The author of the same work tells us in another passage (§. 32.) that the eloquence of Cicero was due far more to the speculations of the Academy than to the instruction of professional rhetorians. Plutarch (vit. Cic. p. 475.) informs us that such was Cicero's own opinion (*καίτοι πολλάκις ἤξιον μὴ εἶτορα καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφον· φιλοσοφίαν γὰρ ὡς ἔργον ἡρῆσθαι, εἰρηστικῇ δ' ὁργάνῳ χρῆσθαι πολιτευόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς χρεῖας.*) Compare also Cic. Brutus c. 97.

§. 24. We must also bear in mind that from the mental idiosyncrasy, and many peculiarities in the social condition of the nations of classical antiquity the study of philosophy was far from possessing with them that vague, and purely abstract character now generally associated with the name. The frugal habits and simple wants which to this day continue a leading feature in the common life of the nations of the south of Europe were united in the case of the Greeks with a passionate desire for knowledge, and a mobility of intellect which enabled them during many ages of their history to exhibit beyond all other nations the dignity of that free and noble *σχολή**) of which none but the most gifted natures are capable. To those who led an existence unfettered by any but the simplest and most generally human relations, who laboured not from the pressure of external necessity, but from the irrepressible fullness of their own productivity, in whom, in short, the inward life of thought had become singularly

*) Not *ἀργία*. Scaliger quoted by Passow in his *Leben von Horaz*. p. 21. Anm. 63. thus describes the Greeks, quæ natio nihil paene egisse videtur quam ut reperiret quomodo in otio negotiosa esse posset.

predominant over that of external circumstances, the science of Being naturally became the one engrossing pursuit of life, and questions of the most abstruse and metaphysical nature rose into a degree of immediate importance which at the present day we can only conceive of as connected with occurrences where considerations of personal interest are directly involved.*) With the utter and undisguised contempt into which the national religion had every where fallen, and the complete inadequacy of all that was traditionally received to satisfy that instinctive yearning after God to which even Homer alludes**) Philosophy became to the calm and noble natures of the old world very much what theology and Christianity are with us, the sole ground of Faith and Duty, the one healing conso-

*) That the study of philosophy possessed amongst the ancients a character preeminently professional is evident from the opposition of meaning constantly insisted on between the terms *φιλόσοφος* and *ιδιώτης*. Thus Critias was sneered at as an *ιδιώτης μὲν ἐν φιλοσόφοις, φιλόσοφος δὲ ἐν ιδιώταις* (Schol. ad Plat. Tim. §. 20.) The same thought is neatly expressed in an epigram of the Anthology (II. p. 419. 58. Jacobs.)

**) Od. III. 48. πάντες δὲ θεῶν χατέουσιν ἄνθρωποι.

lation and refuge from the sorrows, afflictions, and disappointments of human existence. *)

§. 25. That more definite conceptions, and above all happier results did not spring from a view of academic study involving so much that is sound and accurate is to be attributed to the lamentable decay of all the powers of nobler mental action which so rapidly succeeded to the astonishing precision and certainty which the scientific tendencies of the ancient world had attained in Aristotle. Not only was a decline of freshness and vigour speedily visible in the more minutely detailed divisions into which the search after truth had ramified, but the central energy itself exhibited even more decided signs of waning power and intensity. Undiminished as was the national tendency towards metaphysical discussion, the theorists who succeeded Aristotle instead of radiating, as it were, from central truths, and endeavouring to enlarge and verify their conceptions of the absolute by diligent study of its infinite selfenactment in man and nature, ex-

*) Compare Clemens Alexandrin. Strom. I. 5. p. 330. Potter. Also VI. 17. p. 823. where philosophy is explicitly declared to have served as the representative of religion and theology in the ancient world.

hausted the interest of philosophic study in barren and unpractical disputations, or else in idly circling around positions long since finally won for science. / Even the 'virilis ac rigida sapientia Stoicorum', though far the noblest product of later ages, and entitled to no mean place in the history of thought, were it only as having first definitely brought home to human consciousness the sublime Idea of Duty*) — gives lamentable proof of the hopelessness of the times in its cold and cheerless declamations on a few purely negative deductions from the common places of Socratic philosophy. The same degeneracy, and dearth of mental fertility is still more remmistakeably apparent in the maudlin mysticism of the Neo-platonists, and in the paltry plausibility which forms the fundamental notion of the Eclectic school.

§. 26. We have dwelt at some length upon the most important stages in the rise and progress of the principle of academic education amongst the Greeks from reasons which it is hardly necessary to enumerate in detail. Though figuring to a very small extent among the men of

Higher Education
amongst the
Romans.

*) Diogen. Laert. Vit. Zenon. §. 20. *φασί δὲ καὶ πρῶτον καθήκον ἀνομακέναι, καὶ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ πεποιηκέναι.*

statistics,*) and held extremely cheap amongst those who reverse the old legal maxim that men should be weighed, not counted,**) no people reaches so far and wide in all relations of mind, or has given birth and shape to so much which is still operating in every civilised nation as a predominating element in its life of life. They at once exhibit the consummation of the noblest tendencies of the old world, and contain the lively germs of all that is most admirable and active in the new. The history of the Romans on the other hand in all that concerns the developement of the schools of higher intellect is scarcely distinct enough to form even an episode in that of the Greeks. The educational method of the more primitive periods of the republic, though strongly impressed with the masculine simplicity and noble moral nature of the people***), bears eloquent

*) Fr. A. Wolf Darstellung der Alterthumswissenschaft. p. 71.

**) Herodotus contrasts the mental greatness of the Greeks with the material vastness of Asiatic empires. The latter he describes as amounting to πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι, ὀλίγοι ἄνδρες.

***) Most justly described by Horace as

natura sublimis et acer,
Et spirans tragicum satis, et feliciter audens.

testimony to that peculiar inaptitude for speculation which rendered the Romans, with all their propensity to grave and lofty sentiment, unable to receive, much less advance that highest mental culture which so essentially springs from the creative contemplation of the eternal.

§. 27. One of the very few who appear to have theorized at all on this subject was shrewd old Cato*), who, sturdy and stubborn a specimen as he was of the genuine old Roman breed in the utmost intensity of its strongly marked peculiarities, seems nevertheless, here as elsewhere, to have been borne by the sheer force of a prodigious understanding so far beyond the narrowminded limits of his day and generation. The mode of education which prevailed throughout the best ages of the republic has been set forth in the well known and classic passage of the dialogus de oratoribus commonly attributed to Tacitus. The youth after

Polybius in the same manner speaks of a certain magnanimous hardihood of design (τὸ μεγαλόψυχον καὶ παράβολον) as a distinctively characteristic trait of the Romans.

*) See Nonius and Festus in Ellendt's *Historia Eloquentiae Romanae* p. 21. Compare also Macrobius III. 6. in Jo. Alb. Fabr. *Bibl. Lat. T. I. Lib. I. c. 2.*

having completed certain courses of preliminary instruction was at the approach of manhood introduced to one of the eminent public men of the day, to whose person he continued attached for a suitable period in the capacity of an assistant and companion. In thus enabling him to become insensibly, and according to the advancing measure of his strength and capacity more and more a co-agent in the grandest and most stirring political existence the world has ever seen, where cases like the impeachment of Warren Hastings were of almost constant occurrence, it is easy to perceive what an incomparable training to a life of action and energy would of necessity be furnished.

§. 28. Such a practice was of course only adapted to the most virtuous and glorious periods of the commonwealth, when the general grandeur and moral elevation of the times supplied its evident deficiency in the scientific and universally humanizing elements of higher education. In the hideous disorder and crime which finally rendered the republic insupportable, when the rapine and carnage of the proscriptions were succeeded by the scandalous excesses of the rabble under Clodius, and the high handed violence of Caesar, the tone of

public life, and the character of public men were alike abhorrent to the spirit and purpose with which the custom had been originally instituted.

§. 29. A single exception is mentioned as having then existed, and that probably the most signal and illustrious instance ever furnished of the admirable effects which were meant to flow from so wisely conceived and sagaciously practical a mode of educational influence. Few circumstances in the life of Cicero are calculated to give a stronger impression of the atmosphere of noble and lofty thought which he spread around him than the remarkably enlivening power of his personal intercourse upon generous youthful minds. *) The number of high born and thoughtful Roman youths whom he attracted around him, and inspired with the loftiest principles of individual and public duty is said to have given Cicero a mighty power in the state at the very time when to all outward appearance his political authority was most completely annihilated. **)

Cicero's influence upon the youth of the time.

*) The correspondence of Cicero abounds in evidences of this most interesting feature in his character. Compare, as instances taken almost at random, Ep. ad Fam. II, 4 and 5.

**) Ἀφήμενος τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἐσχόλαζε τοῖς βου-

§. 30. A remarkable feature in the earlier form of Roman education consisted in the practice mentioned by Valerius Maximus*) and Cicero of sending young patricians into Etruria for the purpose of completing their studies. This is no doubt rightly interpreted by Ellendt**) as originating in the extent to which the ceremonies, legal fictions and forms of the Roman state were regulated in accordance with the Etruscan system of divination.

Endowment
of learning
by the emperors. Athenaeum of the Capitol.
Schools of Athens after M. Aurelius.

§. 31. Although the principle of University study made little progress, if it did not actually retrograde, under the dominion of Rome, the external existence of academic institutions was then established with a degree of solidity and permanence which has exercised the most important influence upon the destinies of the future civilization of mankind. The emperors from Augustus downwards recognised the entire system of educational institutions as an integral element in the organism of the state. Existing schools

λομένοις φιλοσοφεῖν τῶν νεῶν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν τῇς πρὸς τούτους συνηθείας εὐγενεστάτους καὶ πρώτους ὄντας ἀνδρὶς ἴσχυεν ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγιστον. Plut. vit. Cic. p. 483.

*) De Relig. I. 1. Cic. de Divinat. II. 23. quoted by Lips. ad Tac. Ann. XI. 15.

**) Hist. Eloquent. Rom. p. 75 sqq.

in Rome and throughout the provinces received the imperial patronage and support, new institutions of the same kind were founded, and professional chairs (*θρόνοι*) either created, or, if already existing, perpetuated by means of endowments. Vespasian, Hadrian, both the Antonines, Marcus Aurelius, and Severus; in a word, all the most virtuous, and not a few of even the most sanguinary and atrocious amongst the Caesars*) vied with each other in endeavouring to promote the interests of learning in all its various forms throughout the Empire. It is of course only to those who were most preeminently distinguished as the patrons and benefactors of the highest erudition that we can at present briefly allude. Vespasian, (A. D. 69—79.) himself an admirer and connoisseur of Greek literature, led the way in the appointment of professors of both languages, who in addition to the immunities and honours granted by former Emperors were paid an annual salary from the imperial fisc.**) Among the eminent scholars

*) e. g. Domitian. See Niebuhr Vorles. über alte Gesch. III. p. 209. Sueton. vit. Dom. c. 4. 20. Compare on the other hand Tac. vit. Agric. c. 2.

**) *Ingenia et artes vel maxime fovit; primus enim e fisco Latinis Graecisque rhetoribus annua centena con-*

thus formally taken into the service of the state was the celebrated Quintilian who held the professorship of eloquence for a period of twenty years with an income of 100,000 sesterces, or about 700 pounds, per annum.*) Under Hadrian (A. D. 117—138.) along with the same princely munificence in the endowment of separate professional chairs we behold a decided step towards form and combination in the means and aids to higher instruction such as previously, it would seem, was unattempted at Rome. The rhetoricians and men of letters who had hitherto taught in virtue of public appointment to their respective offices (*publice docendis iuvenibus magistri*), instead of giving instruction in separate schools as formerly, were gathered into a collective body known as the *Athenaeum***), which held its sittings on the Capitol, and appears,

stituit. ctt. Sueton. vit. Vesp. c. 18. Gräfenhahn Gesch. der Cl. Philol. III. p. 29.

*) Gräfenhahn Gesch. der class. Philol. IV. p. 32. Twenty years appears to have been the term of service for public officials of this class, after which they were entitled to retire with a pension. Cresoll. Theatr. Rhet. I. 8.

**) Gräfenhahn Gesch. der class. Phil. IV. p. 32. Bernhardt Gr. der Roemischen Litt. p. 86.

like the Museum of Alexandria, to have united in a great measure the functions of a modern academy of sciences with those of a higher school. Separate lecture rooms (*loca specialiter deputata*) were assigned to each instructor, who was henceforward not permitted to teach in private.*) The age of Marcus Aurelius (A. D. 161—180.) is distinguished by the complete endowment of what may now indisputably be called the University of Athens. The professors of the schools of this city seem under this Emperor first to have received annual salaries from the government, though chairs of Political science, Rhetoric, Philosophy, and Sophistry had probably been in existence for some time previously. The number of regular professorships amounted to ten, of which two were assigned to Rhetoric, and as many to each of the leading philosophical sects, as supposed to be represented by the Platonists, Peripatetics, Stoics, and Epicureans.†) A certain

Number of
professors. •

*) Bulaeus Hist. Univ. Par. I. p. 68.

**) See Lucian Eun. §. 3. Such is the view adopted by Ahrens (*de Athenarum statu* p. 70. as quoted by Gräfenhahn *Gesch. der class. Philol.* III. p. 29.) in which he is opposed by Bernhardt *Gr. der Gesch. der Gr. Litt.* p. 413. and Zumpt (*über den Bestand der philosoph. Schul.* in

preeminence appears to have been conceded to the teachers of Platonic philosophy. The chair of this subject was designated as ὁ θρόνος par excellence, and its teachers are all along described as being preeminently the διάδοχοι.*) This office together with lectureships

Athen. p. 26.) The latter himself however admits that Lucian speaks of the death of one of the two Peripatetics who held offices of this nature in Athens, (ἀποθανεῖν τῶν Περιπατητικῶν τὸν ἕτερον) and it is not easy to discover any reason why a larger number of appointments should have been bestowed upon this sect in particular.

*) Wytenbach ad Eunap. p. 44. The Academics were also designated as ἡ σχολή. (Suidas s. Πλούταρχος et Πρόκλος.) The students of the Academus seem all along to have been regarded as quite the Christ church men of the Athenian University. They are reproached with excessive 'bumptiousness' (τῦφος), and with puppyism as exhibited in matters of dress and external deportment. Ehippus (Nauag. Meinecke Fragm. Com. III. p. 332.) thus describes one of the philosophic exquisites of the day.

εὖ μὲν μαχαίρα ξύστ' ἔχων τριχώματα,
εὖ δ' ὑποκαθίεις ἄτομα πάγωνος βάθῃ,
εὖ δ' ἐν πεδίλῳ πόδα τιθεῖς ἐπὶ ξυρόν,
κνήμης ἑμάντων ἰσομέτροις ἐλίγμασιν,
ὄγκῳ τε χλανίδος εὖ τεθωρακισμένος,
σχῆμ' ἀξιόχρεων ἐπικαθεῖς βακτηρίᾳ
ἀλλότριον, οὐκ οἰκείον, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ.
ἔλεξεν κ. τ. λ.

on grammar and criticism was held by the celebrated Longinus. *)

§. 32. The appointment to these offices was naturally vested in the highest instance with the Emperor, though they appear generally to have been bestowed in accordance with the recommendation of the University and the town. In a decree of Julian cited by Bernhardy**) the electoral bodies are specified as consisting of the Ordo, or philosophic sect, the Curiales, or municipal senate, and the Optimi, or timocratic ecclesia established according to Roman usage in the provinces, ***) with an ultimate reference to the Emperor. In the case of the philosophic professorships the initiative, and most decisive stage of the process was doubtless that entrusted to the first of these associations. Photius †) accordingly speaks of Isidore as at once appointed to the Platonic chair by the *ψήφισμα*

See also a similar passage in the Antaeus of Antiphanes (Meinecke Fr. Com. III. p. 17.)

*) Wyttenbach ad Eunap. p. 28.

**) Grundriss der Geschichte der Gr. Litt. p. 415. The same mode of election existed at Rome also. See Cresoll. Theatr. Rhet. IV. I.

***) Hermann Gr. Alterthümer.

†) Biblioth. Cod. 242.

τῆς διαδοχῆς. Nor does the influence of the University in the bestowal of rhetorical professorships appear to have been greatly inferior. Gregory of Nazianzus when desirous of departing from Athens was detained almost by main force on the part of his admirers (ἀπὸ τοῦ κατεῖχον). Masters and scholars are described as directly offering him the gift of a professional chair (ὥς δὲ λόγων δάσκοντες ἐκ ψήφου κράτος).

Amount of
salaries.

§. 33. In every such election, whether of sophists or philosophers, a formal examination (δοκιμασία) was held before the most important and influential inhabitants, on which occasion the different candidates gave a public specimen of their ability, and at the same time underwent a scrutiny into their moral character.*) The amount of income enjoyed by each of the above mentioned principal professors is stated by Lucian at ten thousand drachmae, or about £ 400 a year. Philostratus**) however speaks of the sophist Apollonius as receiving a talent annually while occupying the chair of political oratory.***)

*) Philostr. II. pp. 566. 567. — Morell. Luc. Eun. p. 352. Hemsterhus. Wytttenbach ad Eunap. p. 79.

**) Vit. Sophist. II. p. 597. Morell.

***) Zumpt supposes that the πολιτικὸς θρόνος is to

Tatian on the other hand speaks of the payment of the leading appointments as amounting to twelve thousand drachmae per annum, a statement considered by commentators as in all probability more strictly correct than the sum mentioned in round numbers by Lucian.*)

§. 34. The solid nucleus formed by the ten Assistant professors. endowed professorships seems gradually to have collected around it a multitude of philosophers and academic teachers of every description. At a later period Himerius**) speaks of parents who had accompanied their sons to Athens as perfectly bewildered by the number of sophists in that city. Many of these were no doubt attached to the University in the capacity of assistants to the occupants of the principal chairs, a class of teachers who are found in existence at the

be understood of a chair the appointment to which vested with the town, as opposed to the βασιλικὸς θρόνος, which was in the gift of the Crown. (See über den Bestand der philosoph. Schulen in Athen. p. 25. Anm. 3.) The arguments adduced in favour of this opinion do not, however, appear very convincing.

*) See Lucian Eunuch. p. 352. Hemster. Cresoll. Theatr. Rhet. II. 3.

**) Orat. XXXIII. §. 2.

earliest period of academic history,*) while the majority, it may be conjectured, held a position not unlike that of the *professores extraordinarii* and *privatim docentes* of continental Universities at the present day. In the case of the Sophists a broad line of distinction is throughout observable between the junior instructors and those holding the salaried appointments of the University. The latter gloried in the high sounding titles of *δυνατώτεροι, λόγων τύραννοι, μείζους, μεγαλόμισθοι, δημοτελείς, **)* *eminentissimi* &c., the latter ***) on the other hand are designated as *οἱ ἐλάτους, εὐτελείς, minores*.

Meaning attached to the term Sophist at this period.

§. 35. The term Sophist always employed somewhat vaguely, and at times bestowed upon those philosophers who aimed at combining literary elegance of expression with scientific accuracy of thought,†) is henceforward used with reference to a class of teachers exhibiting many

*) Zumpt über den Bestand der philosoph. Schulen in Athen p. 6. Bernhardt Gr. der Gr. Litt. I. p. 415.

**) See Lucian Rhet. Praecept. quoted in Cresoll. IV. II. *Βασιλεὺς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, τὰ τέθριππα ἐλαύνων τοῦ λόγου.*

***) Cresoll. Theatr. Rhet. IV. 11.

†) Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 330. *σοφισταί, οἱ διδάσκαλοι, καὶ ὅσοι τῶν φιλοσόφων ῥητορικῶς ἔγραψαν.*

analogies with the Doctors and Masters of Arts in the academic schools of the middle ages. *) This circumstance is also indicated in the phrase professor artium by which the Sophists are known in Latin. It is worthy of notice how completely the invidious and contemptuous meaning once associated with the name was lost sight of in the third century. Libanius declined the title of Prefect of the palace, an honour bestowed upon individuals of the very highest

*) A. Schott. Eunapii vit. extr. See also an expression of Philostratus quoted by Cresoll. Theatr. Rhet. I. 1. where the sophistic art is described as πολλή καὶ ποικίλη in its nature. Cresollius (IV, 5.) justly says of the sophists 'partem omnium humaniorum literarum attigisse videntur quae excellenti et perfecto oratori sunt necessaria.' The proper meaning of the word is seen in the expression which connects τὸ τεχνικὸν and τὸ σοφιστικὸν as equivalent terms. That the name of Sophist was properly given to all who studied a subject as a profession, and discoursed upon it with fluency and eloquence is evident from the fact that not only physicians are so called by Eunapius, (compare the *λατροσοφισταί* in Suidas) but that even at an earlier period those learned Soyeræ of antiquity whose artistic enthusiasm is such a favourite subject with the poets of later comedy are known in Athenaeus as *σοφισταὶ μαγειρικοί*. (Athen. III. c. 60. Compare also Clemens Alexandr. Strom. I. p. 329. Potter.)

rank. External honours of every kind, statues, the citizenship, imperial edicts, honorary psephismata, were lavishly bestowed upon distinguished Sophists. Their calling was regarded as the steppingstone to the highest dignities of state, and conferred by a codex of Theodosius the social position of Vicarius, a grade equivalent to the rank of Duke or Count. *) In accordance with this estimate of the dignity of their office we find that the instructors of higher schools regularly appeared amongst the nobility and magistrates who went forth to welcome a viceroy on his arrival at the seat of provincial government. **) Every circumstance in short goes to prove that this expression was employed at that period with precisely the same eminently honourable meaning which attaches to the name of professor at the present day. In the fourth century we read of the public appointment at Athens of four sophists ***) (probably only the most eminent of the entire body) in a manner precisely similar to that of the philosophers previously mentioned.

*) Cresoll. Theatr. Rhet. I. 8.

**) Reisk. ad Libanii Orat. πρὸς Ἀναξίλιτον p. 190.

***) Liban. πρὸς τοὺς βαρὺν αὐτὸν καλοῦντας p. 176.

§. 36. The minor arrangements of the school of Athens at this stage of its history no doubt corresponded in most respects with those of the learned institutions of Antioch concerning which such frequent and detailed accounts are furnished in the orations and epistles of Libanius. In the latter city, which is described as being at that period the academic counterpart of Athens in the east, the professors of rhetoric not only received an annual salary (σύνταξις) from the magistrates of the town,*) but were also paid by fees from the class, and Libanius in pleading for an increase of allowance to his colleagues points to the fact that Zenobius, a teacher of eminence, had received an augmentation of his salary from the proceeds of the public domain.**) The sum paid for admission to each class appears to have varied greatly, and poorer students seem frequently to have been permitted to attend free of expence.***) Philostratus, a writer of the third century, informs us that in the school of Proclus the payment of one hundred drachmae entitled the student

*) Liban. Ἀντιοχείας. p. 333.

**) Liban. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐητόρων. pp. 211. 212. 213.

***) Philostr. vit. Soph. II. p. 602.

to attendance upon the course as long as he thought proper, besides giving access to the use of the library.*) The fee for admission was paid on the first of every month, and could be recovered at law; the salary on the other hand was received annually. In this manner many of the Sophists are said to have amassed considerable fortunes. The lectures of Chrestus were attended by one hundred *ἐμισθοὶ ἀκροαταί*,**) and Heraclides purchased an estate of ten talents from the accumulated earnings of tuition in rhetoric. The desire to secure for themselves the glory and the profit resulting from a numerously attended class naturally gave rise to the most furious competition on the part of this class of instructors, a fact significantly attested in the terms *καθῆσθαι* and *ἀντικαθῆσθαι* employed with reference to Sophists professing the same subject.***) Every contrivance of force and fraud was unsparingly employed on these occasions, and the whole machinery of a contested election in England of the olden time was actively set in play to secure for themselves

*) Vit. Soph. II. p. 600. Morell.

**) Philostr. vit. Soph. II. p. 588. Morell.

***) See also Liban. *περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης λόγος*. p. 137.

the attendance of the new comers to the University.*) Students were induced to pledge themselves before matriculation, and agencies formally established for that purpose in foreign countries. The fiercest part of the struggle commenced upon their arrival in Attica. No expense seems to have been spared by the principals in the contest. A fictitious appearance of popularity was sought to be obtained by paying students to attend and applaud at lectures**) (ὥνῃ τῶν νέων). Bands of academic partizans scoured the country in every direction, for the purpose of intercepting all who entered Athens by land;***) and all the mischievous activity of the commissionaires and hotel touters of the continent at the present day was indefa-

*) Business of this description seems to have been transacted by a species of committee (χορός) composed of partizans of the respective Sophists under the guidance of a senior (προσιάτης, ἀκρωμίτης). Photius Bibl. cod. 80. Cresoll. Theatr. Rhet. IV. 10. extr. Bernhardy Gr. der Gr. Litt. I. p. 450.

**) Liban. περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης λόγος. p. 45.

***) ὁρῶν ἄκρα, πέδια, ἐσχαταί, οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ τῆς Ἀττικῆς μέρος, ἢ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἑλλάδος, αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκητόρων οἱ πλείστοι, καὶ γὰρ τούτους μεμερισμένους ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἔχουσιν. Gregor. Nazianz.

tigably set in operation, in order to mislead and bewilder the inexperienced student on his first landing at the Piraeus. Libanius in describing his own adventures mentions that he was locked up by adherents of the opposition, and not released from captivity until he had bound himself by oath to attend the lectures of the professor whose cause they had espoused.*) The feuds between the rival candidates for popular favour and support were zealously entered into by their respective disciples — a result the more readily brought about from the fact that each of the leading Sophists officiated as proctor, of one of the four Nations,**) into which the University was divided — and the writers of the day gave a most animated picture of the academic combats which raged between the admirers of the contending rhetoricians.***)

*) τῆς ἐπιούσης τε ἦν ἐσπέρας, καὶ ἐν χειρὶν οὐχ ὧν ἐβουλόμην· ἔπειτα τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐν ἑτέρων αὐτῶν χειρὶν, ὧν οὐδὲ τούτων ἐβουλόμην. Liban. περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης λόγος. p. 13. Compare also another passage in the same speech: ἐβοῶμεν δὲ διεστηκότες, ὁ σοφιστὴς μὲν ἐμοῦ, ἐκείνου δὲ ἐγὼ στερόμενος, τοῖς ἔχουσι δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τῆς βούτης.

**) For an account of the Nations at Athens see §. 57.

***) Liban. περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης λόγος p. 16. τοὺς τῶν χορῶν ἐν μέσαις ταῖς Ἀθήναις πολέμους, καὶ δόπαλα, καὶ

§. 37. The general plan of instruction seems not to have been altered from that which prevailed at the time of the first endowment of the University by Aurelian. In the philosophical classes lectures were delivered, at the conclusion of which difficulties and objections (*ἀπορίαι*) were discussed by the professor.*) In the schools of rhetoric at Antioch public harangues (*μελέται, ἐπιδείξεις*) were pronounced before the class by the occupant of the chair at certain stated intervals. This performance generally took place between ten o'clock in the morning and noon (*πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς.*) After such an oration the remainder of the day was regarded as festival or half holiday. At the entrance of each lecture room (*πυλῶν*) was suspended a tablet containing notices to the class.***) Students took copious notes of the lectures in books (*δέλτοι****)) kept for that purpose. Certain ancient authors (Demosthenes and Homer for the most part) were generally read as guides and models for ori-

Mode of instruction.

σίδηρον καὶ λίθους, καὶ τραύματα. κ. τ. λ. Compare also Epist. 527. Eunap. vit. Julian. et Proaeres.

*) Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. 20. II. 2.

**) Lucian. Hermotim. p. 750.

***)) Liban. πρὸς τοὺς οὐ λέγοντας p. 203.

ginal composition. *) The interpretation of these writers was preceded by a discourse (πρόλογος) delivered by the instructor. **) That in the philosophical schools a species of moral discipline was also aimed at is evident from the ἀρχὴ ἐπὶ εὐκοσμίας τῶν ἐπιχειρούντων which Athenæus (XII, 69.) describes as existing amongst the Peripatetics in the time of Lycon, the third from Aristotle (A. C. n. 269 — 226.). This office of which we have already spoken (p. 127.), seems to have been assigned to one of the seniors of the sect, who remained in authority for the space of thirty days, when a banquet was celebrated and a successor appointed.

§. 38. The design of the University as an initiation to all the most liberal, honourable, and important forms of life has seldom been recognised with greater distinctness than at this period. Libanius speaks of those who attended the school of Antioch as looking forward to becoming occupants of municipal offices (βουλαί), appointments in the imperial service (διοικήσεις πόλεων), chairs in some of the various

*) Liban. πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ βλασφημίας. p. 273.

**) Liban. πρὸς τοὺς βαρὺν αὐτὸν καλοῦντας p. 179.

Universities (θρόνοι), and to the practice of jurisprudence, Roman or provincial (θέμις, δίκαι).*) The general principle of all higher study is no where more clearly announced than in the words of Gregor of Nazianzus,**) who describes it as a prosecution of all subjects as one, and of each as equivalent to all (τὰ πάντα ὡς ἐν ἑξακλήσας, καὶ ἀντὶ πάντων ἑκάστων.)

§. 39. By a practice dating from the times of Aristotle,***) and borrowed apparently in the first instance from the Pythagoreans,†) the undergraduate population of the University, in addition to the distinctions arising out of national origin, and subjects of study, was divided into two classes, one of which was entitled to the full rights of studentship, while the other was regarded as merely preparing for entrance into the academic body. The latter, who are designated as belonging to the μουσειον,††) were taught in the earlier part of the day, and subjected to all the coercive dis-

Two classes
of students.

*) περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης. p. 102.

**) Orat. X.

***) Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. XX. 5.

†) Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. I. 9.

††) Liban. Ep. 407. 1019.

cipline of an inferior school, *) though the vicious indulgences and outrageous feats of physical force **) ascribed to them by Libanius prove that they must have attained to the age of the *μελλέφηβοι* at least. Both classes of students are mentioned as being present at the public orations (*μελέται, ἐπιδείξεις*) of the Sophists. ***) Lectures seem to have been delivered in a public building, either wholly set apart, or simply granted for the temporary use of the University. †) Instruction was also given at the residence of the professors (*τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ θέατρα*). ††) This however was probably only the case with those who wished to add the advantages of private tuition to the ordinary teaching of the University. At Antioch Libanius gave instruction in the senate house, in the temple of Calliope, or in that of Apollo which was situated in the suburbs of the city. †††)

*) Liban. *περὶ τοῦ τάπητος*. pp. 255 256.

**) Such as blanketing pedagogues, a performance magniloquently described by Libanius in his oration *περὶ τοῦ τάπητος*.

***) Philostr. *vit. soph.* II. p. 600.

†) Liban. *ὑπὲρ τῶν ῥητόρων*. p. 216.

††) Eunap. p. 96.

†††) Liban. *περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης*. p. 71. *πρὸς Εὐστάθιον*. p. 165.

At Athens in the siege of the city by Sylla during the Mithridatic war (A. C. n. 80.) the Academy and Lyceum were laid waste in common with the other suburbs; and, though doubtless restored afterwards as far as possible to their original condition, were never again regularly employed for purposes of instruction; in consequence, as Zumpt *) supposes, of the advance of malaria occasioned by the declining population. Henceforward philosophers delivered lectures in the town. The Odeum was used for purely epideictic purposes.

§. 40. Of the mutual coordination between the various parts of which the school of Athens was composed little is known with certainty. The Praeses of Achaia**) is described by Eunapius and Libanius as in a manner discharging the functions of the Chancellor of the University, though mainly, it would appear, with a view to the maintenance of public order, which had been disturbed beyond endurance by the factions into which the aca-

Chancellor-
ship of the
University.

*) Zumpt über den Bestand der phil. Schulen in Athen. pp. 12. 15.

**) Eunap. vit. Julian. p. 97. Liban. περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης λόγος. p. 19. Bernhardt Gr. der Gr. Litt. I. p. 450.

demic world was divided. The Proconsul Carbonius is extolled by Himerius for having restored the discipline of the University, and suppressed the tumults for which it had at one time been so notorious. The individual appointed by the emperors to the Proconsulate was himself in many cases a cidevant Sophist (*ἀπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν*), and therefore abundantly qualified by personal acquaintance with its circumstances and conditions to superintend the government of the University.*) At Antioch Libanius speaks of himself as presiding over four professors of rhetoric without specifying his relation to those who gave instruction on other subjects.**)

§. 41. Hopelessly as the graceful and elegant thought of antiquity had fled from amongst the generation of which we are now speaking it was but natural that many instances of youthful attachment and friendship in its purest and most beautiful form should arise even in such an aspect of the University as then existed. Gregory of Nazianzus finely describes his own relation to St. Basil as based upon an utter

*) Orat. IV. §. 9.

**) ὑπὲρ τῶν ζητόρων λόγος.

absence of all mean emulation, and a devotion on both sides to what was morally ennobling and associated with honourable hopes and purposes for the future*).

§. 42. The munificent liberality of the Roman Caesars which had given such extent and completeness to the academic system of the ancient world was not without many happy effects upon literature and learning in the declining ages of the Empire. Athens, which about the birth of Christ had grievously fallen into decay, from the withdrawal of the wealthiest and noblest class of students to the schools of Marseilles, Milan, Apollonia, and other thriving provincial towns**) became the chief University town of the world for all who were desirous of obtaining the most exact and thorough training in the study of

Beneficial effects of these institutions upon the literature of the age.

*) ἔργον δ' ἦν ἀμφοτέροις οὐχ ὅστις αὐτὸς τὸ πρωτεύον ἔχοι, ἀλλ' ὅπως τῷ ἐτέρῳ τούτου παραχωρήσειεν — ἔργον δ' ἀμφοτέροις ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὸ ζῆν πρὸς τὰς μελλούσας ἐλπίδας. Orat. XX. p. 330.

**) ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι καὶ τοὺς γνωριμωτάτους τῶν Ῥωμαίων πέπεικεν (ἡ Μασσαλία) ἀντὶ τῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδημίας ἔκεισε φοιτᾶν φιλομαθεῖς ὄντας. Strabo IV. p. 248. See also Zumpt über die philosoph. Sch. zu Athen. p. 19. Bernhardt Gr. der Roem. Litt. p. 58.

eloquence, political science and philosophy.*) In the fourth century, though labouring under the disadvantage of notoriously heathen predilections, it continued to assert a species of priority over the contemporary schools of Constantinople Antioch and Berytus,**) and the superior dignity of its professors is admitted even by those of rival Universities.***) Athens became again the focus of learned activity in an age, which, marred, as it was, by increasing tendency to pedantry and affectation, still succeeded in reviving some reminiscences of the nobler past, and exhibited what has not inappropriately been described as the after summer of Greek genius. †)

Evils and defects of the academic education of this period.

§. 42. It is not to be denied that not only in the ordinary class of publicly endowed schools which during the reign of Marcus Aurelius and the succeeding Emperors multiplied

*) Gräfenhahn Gesch. der class. Phil. IV. p. 29.

**) Bernhardt Gr. der Gr. Litt. I. p. 442.

***) Liban. Ep. 1440. 1511.

†) Bernhardt Gr. der Gr. Litt. I. p. 406 sqq. Lucian, Longinus, and the philosophers Hermogenes, Sextus Empiricus, Plotinus, Arnobius, and Lactantius may be mentioned as specimens of the writers and thinkers of this period.

to such an extent throughout the provinces of the Roman Empire, but even in those institutions which assumed academic rank and consequence, the instruction imparted had in a great measure lost that direction of the depth and fulness of philosophic principle into the forms and channels furnished by the avocations of after life which we have pointed out as the essential feature in the University study of the best ages of antiquity. Even at an earlier period the author of the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* laments over the change that had taken place in this respect, and does not hesitate to prefer the somewhat meagre and narrow utilitarianism of Roman education in the ruder stages of their national developement to the unsubstantial generalities which in his day were communicated under the name of higher intellectual culture. This however was no solitary or accidental occurrence, but a phenomenon radically in harmony with the mental condition of that entire epoch. We have already alluded to the fact that the ancient world in general only conceived of the Absolute as beheld in its most general and *prima facie* aspect. Few besides Aristotle seem to have been enabled to discern that the fruitful

and advancing knowledge of the highest Entity must ever take place, by means of, or at least in conjunction with study of its self utterances and exponents in the individual*) and concrete. The contemplation of truest Being after having shown itself with astonishing brilliancy and power had been so speedily withdrawn that the world had only become assured of the reality of the latter without having time, as it were, to discern and distinguish the specialities of its essence. The utter degeneracy which had taken possession of all philosophic enquiry during the declining ages of the empire could not but exercise a peculiarly baneful influence upon that nobler form of educational discipline which in ancient times more especially had its keystone and

*) That man can discern the living truth only by what it affirms of itself, and not by his own intellectual scrutiny is a principle common to all the highest forms of religious belief. With the Greeks Zeus was only known to mortals through his self manifestation in Apollo (see Hesiod. Melampod. Fr. IX. in Dünzers Fragmente der epischen Poesie der Gr. p. 55.) and in the writings of the apostle whose mind and character are described as peculiarly congenial with the spirit of the founder of Christianity we are told that "no man hath seen God at any time. The only begotten, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him."

centre in that science. The spirit of philosophy had so completely evaporated leaving behind a mere caput mortuum of phraseology, negations, and truisms that the whole serious labour of academic instruction eventually concentrated itself upon rhetorical exercises, whose aim was directed towards giving a certain manual dexterity in dealing with the conventional expressions for a life and efficiency which had long since utterly departed. *) The inherent falsity of a plan of education founded upon a system of contemptible pedantry, which, bad as it was, was probably the only method by which the commonest rules and technical routine of ancient civilization could then be preserved, might well cause a Roman like the author of the dialogue referred to to sigh after any manifestation of nature however coarse and illiberal. **)

§. 44. Much indeed as was accomplished during the better and nobler ages of the nations of classical antiquity in awakening just and fitting conceptions of the general character and aims of that life of science and thought which it is the purpose of the University to organize and

Effects of
Christianity
upon the aca-
demic study
of antiquity.

*) Dial. de Orat. §. 32.

**) Dial. de Orat. §. 35.

perpetuate, the actual existence of academic institutions in the distinct and specific form they historically assume is emphatically due to the political ascendancy finally achieved by Christianity. Full of interest and lasting instruction as are the records of the learned life of antiquity the intellectual culture of that period depended for its existence far more upon the impulse communicated by individuals, and had not within itself those seeds of endless progress and unfading youth which a heavendescended doctrine has implanted in the civilization of modern Europe. The profoundly ethical spirit of the new creed — the deeper and more vital grounds upon which it based all the special duties of life caused the truths of Christianity to become inseparably intertwined with the roots of political and social organization. Again, in virtue of its character as a system of religious Ideas variously revealed in history, in sacred text books, and in the lives and writings of a long succession of semi-inspired men, speculation and learning became the twin pillars of the faith so essentially bound up with all social order. The acknowledgement of Christianity as the religion of the state in creating a *demand* for knowledge absolute and historical far more vast and constant

than had arisen from the spontaneous striving after enlightenment of a noble and intellectually gifted people established the existence of the institutions intended to meet those higher wants upon a basis infinitely broader and more enduring than they had ever previously occupied. From being the luxury and charm of existence, the 'liberalis oblectatio' of an elegant social circle, scientific study assumed more and more the character of an imperative national necessity. A permanent organization was at once required in order to maintain and advance the higher intellectual culture necessary to the comprehension of a form of doctrine with which the best interests of the state and the individual were immediately involved; and we find accordingly that even in the failing energies of the empire a degree of earnest attention was devoted by the state to the endowment and management of the schools of learning almost exceeding what we have noticed as recorded of more prosperous times. Imperial edicts are still extant regulating the minutest details of the internal economy of the school of the Capitol, *) and symptoms of something even like

*) L. I. Cod. Theod. de stud. lib. Urbis Romae et

progress, at least in the comprehension of the subject, are to be seen in a more decided disposition to give weight and emphasis to the principle of professional study. In short the University, whose origin, as we have already seen, was simultaneous with that of the professional class, was amplified and confirmed in its existence by the rise of the Christian priesthood, and the more scientific character assumed by legal study in the later ages of the Roman empire.

§. 45. Students before leaving the provinces for Rome were obliged to obtain a written permission from a magistrate in which their names, ages, birthplaces &c. were distinctly specified. On their arrival at Rome this paper was given to the *praefectus urbis*, and afterwards to the *magister census*. The latter enrolled the names

Constantinopol. quoted by Heeren *Gesch. der class. Litt. im Mittelalter*. I. p. 24. These enactments are considered by Bernhardt (*Grundriss der Röm. Litt.* p. 91.) as having originated quite as much in a spirit of despotic jealousy, and an apprehension of academic tumults, as in a paternal solicitude for the welfare of the institution. This conjecture receives some colour of probability from the fact that students were strictly prohibited from remaining at this University beyond their twentieth year.

of the various applicants in the album of the University, and assigned to them their several departments of study. To there they were henceforward compelled strictly to adhere. *) We are also informed that a record of the proficiency of each student was sent in to the government, in order that the latter might thereby be guided in the selection of fit individuals for the public service. **)

§. 46. In the so-called Octagon or Tetradiſion Earliest the
ological
schools. founded by Constantine in the capital to which he gave his name Theology received a preeminence completely equivalent to that formerly accorded to philosophy. Up to this period all professional acquaintance with this most important subject had been obtained by means the most scanty and irregular. Eminent fathers and teachers of the church, by a practice resembling that of the earlier philosophers of

*) Ut in primo statim profiteantur introitu quibus potissimum studiis operam navare proponant. Edict quoted by Bulaeus Hist. Univ. Par. I. p. 75.

**) Similes autem breves ad scrinia mansuetudinis nostrae annis singulis dirigantur quo meritis singulorum institutionibusque compertis utrum quandoque sint necessarii iudicemus. Edict quoted by Bulaeus Hist. Univ. Par. I. p. 76.

Greece, were wont to assemble around them a small number of zealous and sympathising disciples to whom they communicated their convictions on the principles of Christian faith and duty. Origen is especially mentioned as one in whose case this mode of activity constituted the principal direction in which his ecclesiastical usefulness was manifested — and Pamphilus of Caesarea, his adherent and personal friend, is said to have been the first who established a regular theological school. *) The bishops of the earlier church were in the practice of attaching to their persons a number of youthful assistants, who thus served a species of apprenticeship to the duties of the priesthood; and this clerus, as it was technically called, became in many cases the training school for an entire province. **) All the greatest fathers of the church, Gregory of Nazianzus, Chrysostom, and Augustine strenuously and vehemently insisted upon the necessity of a learned preparation for the duties of the sacerdotal office. ***) In the course of time theolo-

*) Neander Ch. Hist. II. 497.

**) Neander Ch. Hist. III. p. 213.

***) Neander Ch. Hist. III. p. 211.

gical seminaries seem to have grown up in the neighbourhood of the chief learned institutions of the day. The first of which mention is made is that of Alexandria. It is a remarkable, and significant circumstance that the same city which had first given form and exactness to critical philology, and which at a subsequent period had been distinguished as the home and centre of Neoplatonic philosophy became in a similar manner the birth place of Christian theology. *) In consequence of the high tone of intelligence generally diffused throughout the population of Alexandria by means of the learned institutions for which the place was celebrated it was found necessary in appointing the catechist, or person designed to instruct converts, and prepare the young for full admission to the church, to select an individual of cultivated mind, and high literary attainments. **) Clemens Alexandrinus, the instructor of Origen, ***) is described by Neander as being the first who in a deep conviction of its necessity conceived the design of investing Christian doctrine with the

*) Neander Ch. Hist. II. p. 227.

**) Neander Ch. Hist. II. p. 225.

***) Photius Biblioth.

conclusiveness and precision of a strictly scientific study.*)

*) Biblical criticism was soon felt to be the basis of all sound and scientific theology. The absolute necessity of the profoundest erudition to every one who aims at an intellectual apprehension of Christian doctrine is emphatically dwelt upon by all the most eminent fathers of the church. St. Basil recommends the study of the ancient classics as the best introduction to the spirit and meaning of Christianity (Gräfenhahn Gesch. der class. Phil. III. p. 16.). Clemens Alexandrinus not only maintained opinions identically the same with reference to their general utility in this respect (Strom. I. p. 360. Potter), but regards the philosophy of the ancients as furnishing a dialectic panoply against the attacks of sophists and cavillers (id. p. 377.). He maintains moreover that moral goodness is hardly conceivable unless in conjunction with some degree of intellectual insight (p. 343.): that knowledge is necessary for the interpretation of the sacred word; (p. 342.) and that any deficiency in this respect proportionally paralyzes the power of Christianity (p. 453.). He further insists that all wisdom is from God; that the infinitely varied forms of science all tend to the one highest knowledge; (ibid.) and that the wisdom of the heathens, though differing in form from Christianity, coincides with it in spirit and in truth (*ἐν καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀνόμοιοι εἶναι δοκοῦσιν, τῷ γένει γε καὶ ὅλη τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ὁμολογοῦνται· ἢ γὰρ ὡς μέρος, ἢ ὡς μέρος ἢ ὡς εἶδος ἢ ὡς γένος εἰς ἐν συνέπεται· ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἡ ὑπὲρ ἐναντία τῇ νεάτῃ οὐδα,*

§. 47. The University established by Constantine was mainly instituted with a view to theological study,*) though enjoying also the highest reputation for eminence in philosophy and jurisprudence.**) Here also as in the academic schools of earlier antiquity instruction was communicated in the usual propaedeutic subjects composing the Trivium and Quadrivium. The body of teachers consisted of twelve regularly ordained priests (οἰκουμενικοί) under the su-

Tetradision of
Constanti-
nople.

ἀλλ' ἄμφω ἀρμονία μία· ἐν τε ἀριθμοῖς ὁ ἄρτιος τῷ περιττῷ διαφέρεται, ὁμολογοῦσι δ' ἄμφω τῇ ἀριθμητικῇ - - ἅταρ καὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τὰ μέρη σύμπαντα καὶ διαφέρεται πρὸς ἄλληλα τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὅλον οἰκειότητα διαφυλάττει.
p. 349.)

*) Gräfenhahn Gesch. der class. Phil. III. p. 30.

**) Bernhardt Gr. der Gr. Litt. I. pp. 440. 449. Its greatest celebrity as a school of law dates in all probability from a period considerably later than that treated of in the text, and when much of what is there described had undergone very considerable alterations. In the reign of Theodosius II. (A. D. 425.) the school of Constantinople seems to have been transformed into a counterpart of that of the Capitol. We find it described as containing 28 teachers of Greek and Latin literature. 1 philosopher, and 2 jurists. (L. 3. C. Th. de stud. liberal. urbis Romae et Constant. 14. 9. cited by Savigny Gesch. des R. R. I. p. 460.)

pervision of a rector, or president (*οἰκουμενικὸς διδάσκαλος*). The last mentioned office was naturally regarded as a post of the highest dignity and honour. It conferred the rank of privy councillor of the empire, and led immediately to an archbishopric or the patriarchate.

Legal schools
of Rome,
Constanti-
nople and
Berytus.

§. 48. The primary importance thus assigned to the highest of all professions in the University of Constantinople soon drew after it the entire adoption of the same principle of academic study in the school of Rome. In the establishment of both these institutions political motives, and a regard for the interests of the state seem to have weighed largely with their imperial founders. The paramount necessity on public grounds of providing for the presence of a clergy qualified by the highest degree of learning and intelligence to maintain their position, as instructors of the people has been already alluded to. Next in importance to the priesthood stood the class of public officials, to which in a despotism so strongly centralized as that of the later empire all the particular and ordinary functions of government were necessarily intrusted. To every one who intended to follow the career of the public service an acquaintance with the legal system which it would be his

future duty to interpret and apply was of course preeminently indispensable. *) We find accordingly that the school of the Capitol, which had been originally established for the purpose of providing the state with a class of able and well educated officials, received under Theodosius the completion of its design in the appointment of two professors (antecessores) **) of Roman law. ***) This circumstance seems to have given this institution a certain priority of rank over those schools which existed in other parts of the empire. Rome is invariably mentioned as the resort of all persons in the provinces who were desirous of obtaining a systematic acquaintance with legal studies. †) This superiority was confirmed by Justinian, who in the sixth century suppressed all schools of law with the exception of Rome, Constantinople and Berytus. The same measure was completed in its effects by the withdrawal of the salaries hitherto paid to the philosophers and grammarians

*) Liban. Ep. 1016.

**) Equivalent to the *προσβαῖτες*, or *προηγούμενοι* of the Athenian schools.

***) Heeren Gesch. der class. Litt. im Mittelalter. I. p. 26.

†) Savigny Gesch. des Röm. Rechts im Mittelalter. I. p. 460.

of Athens. *) The University of that city as established by Hadrian and Aurelian, though severely shaken by the incursion of the Goths in the middle of the third century, had, as we have already seen from Libanius, in a measure recovered its former prosperity. The salaries of its professors, which had been interrupted under the Christian Emperors, were afterwards renewed through the liberality of private benefactors. **) Under Justinian however the schools of Athens were finally closed, and those of its instructors who persisted in their adherence to the ancient faith were compelled to seek an asylum at the court of Chosroes king of Persia. ***) Berytus had for more than a century and a half before the reign of Justinian attracted large numbers of students in consequence of its renown as a school of jurisprudence, †) and the importance assigned to the

*) Heeren *Gesch. der class. Litt. im Mittelalt.* Procopius *Hist. Arcana* quoted by Zumpt über den Bestand der philosoph. Schulen in Athen. p. 37.

**) Wytttenbach *ad Eunap.* p. 45.

***) Heeren *Geschichte der class. Philol. im Mittelalt.* p. 63.

†) Libanius *Ep.* 1123. The writer in another letter (1555.) speaks of the fees at Berytus as being extra-

study of Roman law in the Basilica, or Capitolium of Constantinople is attested in the poems of the epigrammatists of the day.*)

§. 49. Fortunately for the best interests of mankind the wise and humane rule of the Ostrogoths long ensured to the learned institutions of Italy a happier lot than seems generally to have befallen those of the eastern empire. Even the rudest infancy of the Germanic nations is distinguished by qualities the very reverse of those which characterize the genuine barbarian. The simple vigour and pregnancy of moral meaning in their social life and national institutions had long before caused them to be studied with deep interest and sympathy by one of the noblest of the Romans.**)

Rule of the Ostrogoths in Italy. Its effects upon learning.

vagantly high but as compensated by the career opened to those acquainted with Roman law.

*) Anthol. III. 139. Jacobs.

**) The marked and peculiar fondness for the subject with which Tacitus lingers over all his descriptions of the characteristic features, and nascent institutions of the Germanic nations was very far from originating, as is sometimes supposed, in any disposition to exalt the imaginary virtues of the savage state over those of civilized life. It is a mistaken theory which would impute to so thorough a specimen of the matured judgment

present instance their reverential susceptibility for all that contained the grounds of thought and inward vitality marked them out as the people peculiarly destined to reillumine the world, and in new and characteristic forms to resuscitate the sublimest aims and energies of antiquity. Not only had the Goths accepted

of a people cast in the very sternest mould of manhood the faintest tendency to that abject and disgusting deification of the semibestial varieties of mankind, of which (a few sporadic cases excepted) none seem capable but the most addleheaded and incurably crotchety portion of our own public. Tacitus, we fancy, would have had little reverence for Jean Jacques Rousseau, and still less for the orators and audiences of Exeter Hall. His love and sympathy with the childhood of the Germanic races may be compared — *mutatis mutandis* — with the almost patriotic admiration and enthusiasm which renders Polybius the most eloquent, as well as the most accurate of Roman historians. Even the unbelieving author of the 'Decline and Fall' seems to have been moved to a momentary forgetfulness of the mean scepticism which then passed for philosophy by the simple and heroic virtues of the bold, yet gentle and deepsouled Germanic race. Few passages in his great work are more agreeably written, and do him greater honour as a historian and as a man than that in which he treats of the character of the ancient Lombards, as exemplified in the story of Autharis and Theudelinda (Vol. VIII. c. 45.)

Christianity with surprising facility and readiness, but the abstruse and intricate studies of biblical criticism had been entered upon by their clergy at an incredibly early period. *) In Italy the University of the Capitol seems to have been an object of peculiar care to the princes of the Ostrogoths. From the violent convulsions by which the empire had long been shaken to its foundations, and the perpetual transference of the sovereign authority from one illiterate invader to another, the maintenance and supervision of this school seems to have lapsed into the hands of the senate, in a manner analogous to what had always been the case with similar institutions in provincial towns. In a rescript of Athalarich quoted by Heeren **) the senate is called upon to take such measures as should secure to every teacher in the schools of liberal arts, whether grammarian, rhetorician, or jurist the enjoyment of the salary of his predecessor without diminution; and also to guarantee to all such individuals the possession

*) Neander Ch. Hist. III. p. 182.

**) Gesch. der class. Litt. im Mittelalt. I. p. 68. See also Cresoll. Theatr. Rhet. IV. 3. and Savigny Gesch. des R. R. im Mittelalt. I. p. 460.

of their appointments as long as they continued capable of discharging their duties with efficiency. In a subsequent portion of this edict it is further ordained that the payment of such officials shall take place at half yearly intervals, "*ne cogatur de alieno pendere fastidio cui piaculo est horarum aliquo vacasse momento.*" Vestiges of higher learning, which existed most probably in some distant connexion with this school, occur in Rome so late as the age of Gregory the Great (A. D. 590—604.).

Differences
between the
academic
schools of an-
tiquity and
those of
modern times.

§. 50. The principle of academic education as exemplified in the Universities of modern Europe is accompanied with much less of what is ambiguous and perplexing than during the period of which we have hitherto treated. The social importance and distinctness of position attained by the priesthood and clerisy naturally contributed to give a corresponding prominence and precision of outward form to those learned institutions upon which their existence so mainly depended. In the antique world, moreover, from the universal prevalence of a very high degree of civilization, the learned class did not stand out in any remarkably strong contrast to the rest of society. Higher schools

arose in every city of importance, and in most instances attracted notice rather in consequence of peculiarities which they presented when compared with other institutions of the same kind than as distinguished from the general condition of the world around them. The tendency of ancient learning was towards the widest distribution. It came to the surface easily and everywhere as the manifestation of a mental habitus completely permeating the whole social system. No pressure from without occasioned that coalition and combination of learned interests which we notice in the Universities of early modern Europe. Few circumstances could well be adduced which more closely exhibit how faint was the line of distinction separating the learned body from the mass of the community than the existence of the class of itinerant sophists (*πλανῆται*) parallel to those who occupied chairs in the Universities (*σταδίατοι*). The former travelled about from city to city lecturing upon subjects apparently identical in nature with those which entered into the regular course of academic teaching. Even professors of jurisprudence are said to have imparted instruction in the

same peripatetic manner. This practice was put an end to by Justinian.*)

Causes of the
more strictly
defined cor-
porate organi-
zation of the
Universities
of the middle
ages.

§. 51. In the condition of society which existed throughout the nations of western Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire this state of things was in every respect completely reversed. The extreme rudeness of the great body of the population caused those who possessed any share of enlightenment to stand out in the boldest relief from the rest of the community, and to rank almost as a superior order of beings amongst their contemporaries. The hopeless isolation to which the individual scholar found himself condemned in the coarseness and barbarism by which he was surrounded naturally compelled those who were possessed by higher impulses to seek each other's society with the instinctive eagerness of actual self preservation. Knowledge in the ordinary circumstances of the times had become so little less than impossible that active and aspiring minds of every type and description drawn together from all quarters by an affinity infinitely deeper and more powerful than that of the forces of material nature around

*) Cresoll. Theatr. Rhet. III.

some common rallying point, where sympathy, assistance, and intellectual advancement could be looked for.*) The vast extent and unanimity of the movement which then set in towards new centres of spiritual life is especially evident in the marvellous blending of national differences which we notice in the great universities of those ages. Oxford, to be sure, gives the most decided proof of English pith and spirit in the vigour and effect with which it threw itself into all questions of enlarged and national import. Paris on the other hand is simply the all embracing school of the one universal church, and exhibits not a trace of the distinctive peculiarities of the people in whose midst it was established. Its most illustrious personages are almost invariably Germans, Englishmen, or Italians. Scarcely a single Frenchman is mentioned in the long list of renowned Doctors who have rendered it eternally famous. It is not until the depar-

*) Savigny *Gesch. des R. R. im Mittelalter* III. p. 139. The diametrically opposite character of Monachism in the eastern and western empires arising from causes similar to those above mentioned has been pointed out by Guizot in his *Histoire de la civilisation en France* I. p. 405.

ture of its ancient glory and importance that a predominance of French feeling and modes of thought begins to be perceptible.*)

§. 52. This secession of the sons of light had, of course, in accordance with the downright, healthy, unaffected nature of those days, quite as much of hatred as of love in it. Their strength of fraternal affection for each other was one with the heartiest antipathy and contempt for the grosser elements with which they had parted company. No where in the ancient world, unless perhaps in the records of the old Pythagorean bond, do we meet with any traces of that inextinguishable hostility between town and gown which forms so prominent and characteristic a feature in the academic history of modern Europe.**)

In Athens, as we have

*) Ritter, *Gesch. der christl. Phil.* III.

**) With the exception perhaps of Athens, which seems during the 4th century to have been a sort of scholastic Donnybrook fair, Oxford in the most flourishing period of its history stands quite without a rival in the records of academic turbulence. Constant affrays between the antagonistic nationalities of north and south English, outbursts of impatience against unpopular men in authority, and pugilistic encounters between Nominalists and Realists, in which, by the bye, the contending dialecticians succeeded in taking their will of each other far

already seen, the magistrates participated in the patronage of the University, and, according

more effectually than in their attempts to grapple in the region of pure metaphysics, lent a due admixture of comic vivacity and variety to the more serious tenour of ordinary University existence. Above all the clerks of Oxford, though the favourites of the nation generally, seem to have been on anything but good terms with their immediate neighbours of the town. We can well imagine that, feeling all the conscious importance belonging to the sole proprietors of intelligence and refinement, they were at no pains to conceal the most supercilious disdain for those who figured in their eyes as the representatives of the opposite tendency. As the former happened moreover to be bachelors for the most part, the frivolous propensities incident to that uneasy condition could not but give frequent occasion for grounds of far more deadly offence. Old father Chaucer in some of his best and broadest stories (the Miller's tale, and the Reves tale for instance) furnishes but too much reason to conclude that the 'domestic felicity' of Oxford aldermen was often most grossly invaded. Terrific town and gown riots ensued, many of them assuming the form and proportions of pitched battles, and terminating with a list of killed and wounded which need not fear comparison with any Parisian emeute of the present century. On these occasions the tocsin for the gownsmen rang from the tower of St. Mary's, and a rising en masse of the peasantry of the whole countryside ('a numberless multitude of country clowns') in some measure counterbalanced the wellknown prowess in arms of these redoubtable disciples of the church mi-

to Suidas *), regularly attended the opening lec-

litant. Another fertile source of academic disorder in Oxford arose out of the presence of a parasitic colony of Hebrews, who had been attracted to the University by the general youth and inexperience of its members. Rapidly accumulating arrears of pecuniary villany had swift and sudden justice meted out to them in the shape of a sound cudgelling vigorously inflicted upon the whole of this respectable community. Personal indignities the Israelites would make very light of, and even severe bodily illusage probably occasioned less anguish than the merciless fines by which, it would appear, such an adventure was commonly concluded. In grave Bologna this last part of the proceeding was so highly approved of as to be thought worthy of being reduced to a system. The Jews were annually mulcted in certain moneys which served to defray the expenses of an excellent dinner at which the assembled University was entertained. A Jew was regarded not only as an abominable 'dun', but as an unclean beast into the bargain. Whatever may be thought of this estimate of the character of our newly discovered Arabians, supported, as it is, by the consensus gentium of some eighteen hundred years, there is no lack of evidence to show that our sturdy ancestors were not so regularly in the wrong on these occasions as their oldwomanish descendants are in the habit of assuming. That in a usurious point of view the Jews had little to complain of is evident from a law of Henry III. (1248), in which it is kindly enacted that no Jew shall exact from a scholar interest to the amount of more than 40 percent.

*) s. *Ῥαττα*.

tures of the professors of philosophy, a practice imitated in the case of Hypatia by those of Alexandria also. The senate of Antioch was, according to Libanius, like an assemblage of regularly trained sophists. *) In Bologna on the other hand no scholar who was a native of the town was permitted to vote in the assembly of the University or hold academic office. The same rule prevailed in Padua with reference to natives of the town and Venetians. The law school in Bologna was many times in danger of complete downfall in consequence of feuds with the town. **) On these occasions the scholars shook off the dust from their feet and walked forth from amongst the 'ignobile vulgus' swearing by all that was high and sacred never again to be contaminated by their company. ***) The

*) *Ἀντιοχείος* p. 317.

**) Savigny *Gesch. des R. R. im Mittelalter*. III. p. 160.

***) 'This story I could not without guilt of concealment let pass, because thereby might be beheld the constancy of the academicians in those times in revenging affronts and abuses done to any of their party. They were always so zealous in that matter that they would have justice done them, or else be gone, as from various instances will appear, especially in that of Robert Wells, a crafty veterano, Baillive of Northgate Hundred in the suburbs

commercial consequences of this measure speedily brought their adversaries to reason, upon which a dispensation from the oath had to be obtained from the Pope. When a reconciliation was finally brought about the privileges of the University were generally confirmed, or even farther enlarged.*)

of Oxford. For the truth is he did in such measure confront and nose them in relation to their liberties in that Hundred that they seriously vowed before Almighty God that all scholastic exercises should cease, their school doors be shut up, and their books be flung away, unless he was punished according to his crimes. And as they vowed so their desires came to pass, though not to the content of all.' (A Wood on the riot of 1248 in the Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford I. p. 238.)

*) The extraordinary reverence with which the University was then regarded, and the deference which the loftiest and most absolute temporal powers rendered to its authority may be seen in the fact that Henry II. of England proposed to refer the points at issue between himself and Becket to the decision of the University of Paris, as represented in the Nations, or widest assemblage of the academic body. Deputies from the same University sat in 1588 in the parliament at Blois amongst the estates of the realm. Nor does the University appear to have been in the least disposed to regard these tokens of respect as arising out of any stretch of courtesy, or as at all in excess of its actual and proper

§. 53. Sentiments of this description soon found expression in a system of forms and ordinances serving to mark the existing separation more strongly, and to awaken a more vivid consciousness of the difference between the life of the academic body and that of common men. The University thus acquired an intensity of

University
degrees.

merits. Savigny tells us that the University of Paris in particular not unfrequently carried its just sense of its own dignity to a perfectly intolerable pitch of pride and arrogance. On the slightest suspicion of an infringement of its privileges the most high handed measures were resorted to. A universal strike of learned labour, with threats of departure to another town, was followed by commotions of the populace which the government was fain to appease by such concessions as the learned body was pleased to express itself satisfied with. Savigny goes on to remark that "what rendered the University of Paris especially powerful, nay positively formidable was its *poverty*. The University itself, the faculties, the Nations were one and all of them poor, and even the Colleges, though burdened with many expenses could by no means be described as wealthy. The University did not possess so much as a building of its own, but was commonly obliged to hold its meetings in the cloisters of friendly monastic orders. Its existence and power thus assumed a purely spiritual character, and was rendered permanently independent of the temporal authority." (Gesch. des R. R. im Mittelalter. III. p. 319.)

internal unity, and a distinctness of corporate organization infinitely beyond anything with which antiquity was acquainted. Nor was the consecration by which the student was formally set apart to a nobler and higher mode of existence confined to the early period of his academic course. The investiture with a diploma and degree*) at the termination of his scho-

*) The precise time at which academic degrees were first taken is involved in much obscurity. Wood mentions (*Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford* I. p. 50.) that St. John of Beverley (A. D. 680) was commonly reported to have been the first who held the degree of Master of arts at Oxford. The same writer informs us that this degree had become common in the reigns of John and Richard I. According to Bulaeus (*Hist. Univ. Paris* II. pp. 256. 679. sqq.) academic degrees were first instituted at Bologna. The forms designative of the various orders of academic dignity in that University are stated to have been the *Baccalaureatus*, *Licentiatius*, and *Doctoratus*. Of these the last two were probably equivalent to the degrees of the *magister incipient*, and *magister socius*, or regent in Paris. Certain *stadia*, or successive courses of legal study are said to have been in existence from the time of Justinian. The five years devoted to the acquisition of juristic knowledge were divided into the *anni Justiniani*, *Edictales*, *Papinianistae*, *Lytae*, and *Prolytae*. The student who had passed through all successively was described as a *Licentiatius*, from the circumstance that he was consi-

lastic career publicly attested his permanent adoption into a distinct order of society, and

dered qualified to discharge the duties of an Antecessor, or public professor of this subject. The practice adopted in this respect by the schools of jurisprudence was afterwards transferred to theology at Paris by Peter Lombardus. The name Bachelor is supposed by Malden (*History of Universities and academic degrees* p. 23.) to have been borrowed from the terminology of the military hierarchy of those ages, and to have denoted one who had just entered upon a career of chivalry. The Knight Bachelor (*chevalier bachelier*) fought merely in his own person, while the Knight Banneret headed a body of adherents who combated under his banner.

Bachelors are often styled scholars in ancient writers (*Wood Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford* I. p. 59.), and the individual invested with this degree was regarded as at the utmost an imperfect graduate. At the same time, in accordance with the system of mutual instruction so thoroughly adopted in the schools of the middle ages, the more advanced class of scholars were both encouraged and commanded to perfect their own acquirements and extend the educational influences of the University into the minutest ramifications of the system by teaching and catechising the junior members of their own body (*Crevier Histoire de l'université de Paris* II. p. 160.). Bachelors though thus entrusted with certain tutorial functions never possessed any of the legislative powers assigned to the masters.

With reference to the term 'regent' previously employed in this note we will observe that it was incum-

designated him as a member of a class whose profession and avowed function in life consisted in cultivating, applying, and communicating knowledge in some one of its specific forms. The degree admitted the graduate of the University amongst the body of 'magistri' (doctores) of his own peculiar faculty, that is to say, recognised him as competent to officiate in the capacity of a teacher of that branch of academic learning which he had hitherto studied. This division into certain professional faculties, so called because represented by the body of individuals, each of whom had been invested with the 'facultas docendi', is found in full existence long before the Universities had arrived at the acme of their importance. The University, as Savigny observes, grew out of Theology and Law in conjunction with Arts.*) The truth of

bent upon every individual who had taken the Masters degree to begin (*incipere*), and for some time continue to preside (*regere*) over a class in the University. After having completed a course of public instruction he was permitted to retire into the class of 'non regents', if so disposed. Except in very rare and exceptional cases, non regent masters were excluded from all share in the legislation and government of the University (Bulaeus *Hist. Univ. Par. III. p. 420.*)

*) See also Bulaeus *Hist. Univ. Par. III. p. 567.* In

this observation is more than borne out by the fact that the cathedral and abbey schools

all assemblies of the University the scholars met on the common ground of their studentship, or mastership in Arts. A degree in this department constituted the widest and most comprehensive category of the University student (A. Wood Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford I. p.55.). 'The foundations of the University, according to Bonaventura, were laid in Arts. Law and Physics were the walls, and Divinity the roof of the academic system' (id. I. p. 57.). A degree in Arts was insisted upon as a preliminary condition for all desirous of entering upon the studies of the other Faculties (id. p. 64.). Although the name of the Faculty of Arts was no doubt originally suggested by those of Medicine Law and Theology (Creyer histoire de l'université de Paris I. p. 99. note) the importance of the first mentioned subject, as the primary element of academic study, and its historical rank in the genetic process of the principle of higher education was attested in the part assigned to the representatives of the Faculty of Arts in the public administration of the University. The governing bodies in the academic state of Paris consisted of two, to wit, the Nations with their proctors, and the Faculties under their respective deans. (Bulaeus Hist. Univ. Par. I. p. 250.). The Nations were identical and coextensive with the faculty of Arts, the only distinction being found in the fact that the former term properly denoted all those members of the University who were registered in the same album, as living under the same laws, observing the same usages on the other hand and obeying the same head. The Fa-

which contained the germs of the academic institutions of the north of Europe originated in the very bosom of the church. The instruction there imparted was designed with almost exclusive reference to the wants of the priesthood, which constituted, not only the most ho-

culties on the other hand designated the body of masters who professed the same department of knowledge, without reference to national distinction. The latter comprised only Doctors, the Bachelors and Licentiates being included in the Nations, wherever, namely they had promoted in Arts (Bulaeus Hist. Univ. Par. III. p. 558.). The Faculty of Arts was for a considerable time less distinctly represented as such, because virtually comprehending the whole University. The importance of the former, as exhibiting the basis of academic instruction, seems to have been further recognised in the circumstance that in the assemblies of the University it possessed four votes, one viz for each of its component Nations, while the remaining faculties were entitled severally to but one (Bulaeus Hist. Univ. Par. III. p. 566.). Duboullay aptly illustrates the respective positions of the Nations and the Faculties of Medicine, Law and Theology by a comparison with the political constitution of Rome. Here was the whole community, he remarks, distributed amongst three orders, the Senate, Equites, and Plebs, while its suffrages were ultimately taken for the most part according to the division into thirty two tribes in which all were included (Hist. Univ. Par. III. p. 566.)

nourable and important, but for many ages the only known profession. The origin of the faculty of theology in the person of Anselm of Laudun, the preceptor of Abelard, gave, as Malden justly observes,*) a new life to Paris, and marks the virtual beginning of its University existence. Up to this era it had ranked as a mere cathedral school, inferior in celebrity and importance to many similar institutions in the provinces.**) There exists moreover abundant evidence to prove that the type of higher education set forth in the law professorships of the metropolitan schools of the later Empire was never wholly lost sight of in the deepest barbarism of the period which intervened between the decay of ancient arts and wisdom and their glorified reappearance in the vaster forms of modern civilization. An unbroken succession is maintained from the schools just mentioned until the appearance of the mediaeval Universities, and in every part of the chain we have indisputable evidence of the existence of that professional education which is so conspicuous in their full maturity. Although, from the ex-

*) History of Universities and Academic degrees p. 7.

**) Crevier Histoire de l'Université de Paris I. p. 111.

treme rudeness of the period, much of what was merely elementary entered into the instruction imparted in the schools of the earlier middle ages, Law and Theology constituted the two main subjects of ultimate study which invariably recur in all the most distinguished learned institutions of that epoch. The knowledge of both was almost exclusively preserved amongst the clergy. Roman law, as contained in works which stand in immediate connexion with ancient literature, formed one of the leading subjects taught in grammatical schools, and was doubtless imparted in connexion with dialectics. It was owing to their utility in this respect that Wipo exhorted the Emperor Henry III. to establish similar schools in Germany. At so early a period as the end of the 7th century St. Bonitus of Auvergne is said to have been *grammaticorum imbutus initiis, nec non Theodosii edoctus decretis*.*) In A. D. 804. a school existing at York is described by Alcuin where instruction was given in Grammar Rhetoric and Law, and Lanfrancus (born at Pavia in 1089.) is spoken of 'as *ab annis puerilibus eruditus in scholis liberalium artium et*

*) Savigny *Gesch. des R. R. I.* p. 465.

legum secularium ad suae morem patriae.*) So strong was the influence of the traditional type inherited from the educational institutions of the Roman empire that throughout the whole of the middle ages jurisprudence was according to Savigny one of the leading if not the chief study cultivated in Universities.**) It was indeed often prosecuted to such an extent as to threaten the very existence of the other academic faculties.***) Canon law formed an essential part of the professional training of the priesthood, and was regarded as the completion of a course of theological study. We may further mention that the corporate existence of the several faculties is first attested by the fact of their possessing public seals in 1170. though we read of a decree in which mention is made of the concurrence of the four faculties in one common act†) at a full century pre-

*) Savigny *Gesch. des R. R. I.* p. 466.

**) *Geschichte des R. R. im Mittelalter.*

***) A. Wood *Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford I.* pp. 153. 151. 242. 304. Roger Bacon assailed the value of the Roman law as an element of University study, on the ground of its passing no claim to universal authority. Wood I. 152.

†) Bulaeus *Hist. Univ. Par. III.* p. 567. Originally

vious to this date. They do not appear however to have formally received a distinct position until towards the middle of the 13th century, when the entire academic system of the middle ages attained its noon in conjunction with the matured perfection of the scholastic theology. The mendicant monks by whom this study had been prosecuted with extraordinary ardour, and from whose midst the most eminent schoolmen had proceeded, laid claim, with the support of the Pope, to the right of holding the professorial appointments of the University. The position of these orders, as heading the great scientific movement of the age, would doubtless have at once entitled them to the privilege to which they aspired, had not circumstances existed which gave a peculiar and exceptional character to their case. Their training was not so much preeminently as exclusively theological to the signal neglect of that basis of humanistic study upon which the University has never failed to insist. They were unwilling, and most probably, from the rules of

no doubt Masters of Arts communicated such rudiments of instruction as then existed on all these subjects. (Malden Hist. of Universities and academic degrees p. 24. Bulaeus de Patron. 4. Nation. Univ. Par. p. 2.)

their body, unable to submit to the exercises of the preliminary stages of academic instruction. The fruits of their system may be seen in the circumstance mentioned by Roger Bacon that in his day there were not four men of learning to be met with who exhibited an adequate acquaintance with grammar. The schoolmen of the 12th century had entered upon the study of Latin literature with lively activity and interest. Grammar and Rhetoric had been zealously cultivated in conjunction with dialectics, and the productions of these authors give evidence of a by no means unsuccessful attempt at combining some degree of elegance and correctness of expression with accuracy and fullness of thought. In the century of which we are now treating the divorce between substance and the form of Philosophy was complete. The writers of the period in which the mendicant orders were supreme exhibit in its harshest form that barbarous and uninviting mode of exposition to which the scholastic philosophy has been mainly indebted* for the neglect and oblivion into which it has subsequently fallen. Again, as representing the monastic principle in its utmost force and intensity, the mendicant monks were inevitably

lead to aim at asserting a complete independence of the jurisdiction of the University, and to regard the welfare of this institution as wholly subordinate to the interests of their own order. The establishment of such an imperium in imperio called forth the most determined opposition on the part of the academic body, which saw its own authority and the interests of learning equally imperilled by the aggressions of these restless and unscrupulous precursors of the Jesuits. The long and violent controversies which ensued seem merely to have established by definite statutory enactments what had all along been the tendency, if not the actual usage of the University. The doctors of theology were in the first place allowed to form a distinct portion of the University. Their example was soon followed by those of *Medecine* and Canon law. Ultimately the Nations recognized the same principle, and organized themselves as the Faculty of Arts. *) The origin of this title is traced by Bulaeus

*) Bulaeus *Hist. Univ. Par.* III. p. 357. Crevier *Histoire de l'Université de Paris* I. p. 466. II. p. 55. Savigny *Gesch. des R. R.* III. p. 326. Baehringer *die Vorreformatoren des 14. und 15. Jahrh.* p. 26. Ritter *Gesch. der Christl. Phil.* III.

to the circumstance that this department of the University included an endless variety of subjects, instead of being confined to professors of a single study (*ars*), as was the case with the other faculties.*)

§. 54. One of the earliest, and most frequently recurring forms of academic life in the middle ages no less than in the times of classical antiquity is that in which Universities were founded for the prosecution of some one particular department of professional knowledge. In the tenth century, or before the Norman conquest of England, Salerno was instituted solely with reference to the cultivation of medical science, and such was afterwards the case with Montpellier also. Paris became peculiarly distinguished as the European metropolis of theological study. Bologna and the majority of the Italian Universities enjoyed a corresponding celebrity for profound acquaintance with the civil law. The *Artistae*, or members of the faculty of Arts in Bologna, including in their

The Universities of the Middle ages devoted their chief attention to particular subjects of study.

*) Propterea quod non unam Artem, ut caeterae facultates, quae uni duntaxat professioni addictae sunt, sed omnes indiscriminatim docendi et profitendi ius retinuerunt. (De Patronis 4. Nat. Univ. Par. p. 2.)

number the Philosophi and Medici, or Physici, were long not permitted to form a corporate body (Universitas), and were always regarded as subordinate to the jurists. In Padua on the other hand the Medici predominated amongst the Artistae, and the rector of the latter was always a Medicus.*) Towards the end of the fourteenth century the original system of instruction in Bologna was augmented by the addition of a theological school. The extraneous and foreign nature of this adjunct was attested in the fact of its being in all its details an exact copy of the University of Paris, and forming an utter contrast to the administrative arrangements of the institution to which it was attached.**)

Influence of
the Byzantine
Greeks upon
the learning
of western
Europe.

§. 55. So marked a predominance of the principle of professional study as we everywhere notice in the Universities of early Christendom is unquestionably in no small degree to be attributed to the influence and example of the learned institutions of that fragment of the Roman empire which continued to keep alive something of the traditions of antiquity until

*) Savigny Gesch. des R. R. im Mittelalter. III. p. 258.

**) Savigny Gesch. des R. R. III. p. 164.

long after the mental life of modern times had safely passed the worst perils of infantine existence. Knowing, as we do, the extent to which the art of western Europe received its forms and bias from that of Byzantium, it is difficult to believe that the Universities of the Eastern empire did not equally serve as models for institutions which were felt to bear upon interests so vastly more important. Nor does this conclusion rest upon grounds of probability alone. In Hadrian and Theodore we have instances of native Greeks appointed to English archbishoprics*), and assembling around them a body of disciples who doubtless perpetuated not merely the learning, but also the forms and the method of instruction preserved in the schools of the Byzantines. Theodore, we are told, was a native of Tarsus,**) and in all likelihood a graduate of the academic schools for which that city was so famous. He is spoken of as one of the most learned men of the age, and it is not impossible that

*) Hallam hist. of the Litt. of Europe during the middle ages pp. 88. 91.

**) Heeren Geschichte der class. Litt. im Mittelalter. I. p. 88.

the eminence in this respect which England is subsequently described as maintaining was principally due to his exertions. England and Italy are mentioned as the only countries in the western empire in which schools of higher learning (*universitates, studia generalia,**) *academiae*) existed before the time of Charlemagne. The instruction communicated in the English schools appears to have consisted of a com-

*) The term *Universitas*, according to Savigny, denoted not the school as such, but in the true Roman sense of the word, the corporation to which the existence of the school had given occasion. That this expression had no reference whatever to instruction in the collective body of scientific subjects is evident from the fact that in the schools of those times a *universitas juristarum* and a *universitas artistarum* are repeatedly found existing side by side.

As little is any such meaning to be recognized in the term *studium generale* often employed as an honorable designation of the higher schools of learning. This expression is found directly applied to a single faculty (that of theology, for instance in the Bull of 1363.) and merely had reference to the extensive aims and influence of the University, as an institution designed to receive not only native but foreign scholars, and possessed of the right of creating doctors, whose character and position would be every where recognized. (*Geschichte des R. R. im M. III. p. 380 sq.*)

bination of philological studies with theology. In the institution established by Alfred at Oxford three buildings were erected, one for twenty grammarians, another for the like number of philosophers, and a third for as many theologians. So zealously was the study of Greek prosecuted that Bede speaks of having met with several of the disciples of Hadrian and Theodore who spoke that language no less fluently than English.*)

§. 56. That Roman law was taught in the schools afterwards met with in England is evident from testimony already adduced. Additional proofs of the influence exerted by the eastern empire upon the earlier mental culture of modern Europe are furnished in the history of many of the most eminent individuals of that period. John Scotus Erigena whose speculations as expounded by Ritter and Neander sound like a forecast of scholastic depth and ingenuity, and whose personal influence with Charlemagne enabled him to give a decisive bent to

*) Heeren *Gesch. der class. Litt. im Mittelalt.* I. p. 167. See also A. Wood *Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford* I. p. 34. where the number of each is stated at twenty six.

the nascent educational institutions of the Transalpine continent is represented by tradition as having studied in Greece.*) Even so late as the thirteenth century the same circumstance is recorded of John of Basingstoke the friend of Grosseteste.**). The frequent fluctuations and essays at intellectual progress which manifest themselves in the history of an aera once regarded as an homogeneous period of unbroken spiritual night are at length beginning to be generally recognised. In the reigns of Alfred, Charlemagne, and the German Othos, the church gave tokens of a spirit not a little resembling that which afterwards showed itself in matured and irresistible vigour at the reformation.***). True intellectual activity is

*) A. Wood Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford I. p. 40. Heeren Gesch. der class. Litt. im M. I. p. 170.

**) A. Wood Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford I. p. 168. Pauli Gesch. von England III. p. 854.

***). Heeren Gesch. der class. Litt. im Mittelalt. I. p. 123. The same period is remarkable as exhibiting a powerful tendency to political organization. It is sagaciously observed by a German writer that, had the successors of Charlemagne been possessed of the ability requisite for carrying out the traditional policy of their dynasty, the world would in all probability have beheld the rise of a sort of Caliphate of the west.

ever accompanied by the liveliest susceptibility to kindred influences from without, and the temper of periods such as those headed by the great princes above mentioned was peculiarly favourable to an intelligent reception and study of whatever remnants of ancient wisdom and educational method still survived in the keeping of the Byzantine Greeks. We read accordingly that at this epoch, as at the revival of letters in the fifteenth century, copies of the writings of ancient authors (genuine or spurious) were considered peculiarly acceptable presents from the rulers of Constantinople to the sovereigns of the German empire. The Platonic element, which, contrary to the notions prevalent on the subject, so decidedly predominates in the earlier philosophy of the schoolmen, is well known to have been derived through the channel of the Greek church.*) So ardent indeed was the

*) The *Timaeus* of Plato in the translation of Chalcidius was especially studied, and long continued the main source from which the thinkers of the middle ages derived their knowledge of Platonic philosophy. Abelard seems to have been chiefly indebted to Macrobius for such acquaintance as he possessed with this subject. Traces of certain treatises of Plutarch are also met with at this period. The writings of many of the Greek

thirst for learning in the periods above mentioned that distance, national prejudice, and even the fiercest animosity of religious fanaticism were made light of whenever a step in intellectual advancement was to be gained. Irish and Scottish monks were eagerly welcomed as the instructors and civilizers of Germany and France.*) The celebrated Gerbert, who after having acted as the friend and tutor of the emperor Otho the third was elevated to the Papal chair (A. D. 999.) under the name of Sylvester the Second, spent a considerable portion

fathers were diligently studied; those more especially of Origen, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basilus, and in the 12th century, the dogmatic system of Johannes Damascenus. Amongst the Latin fathers Augustin seems to have been the chief favourite.

The only portion of Aristotle's works with which the schoolmen seem to have been acquainted before the middle of the 12th century was that contained in the two first books of the Organon, both of which they possessed in translations. The knowledge of dialectics obtained from this source was supplemented from Boethius. In the beginning of the 13th century the remaining writings of Aristotle became known, chiefly by means of translations from the Arabic. Jews were employed in preparing these versions. (Ritter Geschichte der Christlichen Philosophie III.)

*) Neander church Hist. V. pp. 38. 58. 151.

of his youth amongst the Moors in Spain,*) whither he had betaken himself for the purpose of obtaining an acquaintance with physical science, a branch of Aristotle's system to which the Arabians had devoted an attention as exclusive as that which the schoolmen bestowed upon his logical writings.**) Daniel Morley or Merlac,***) a Master of Oxford, is also recorded to have undertaken a pilgrimage amongst the infidels in the latter half of the twelfth century with the same object. The knowledge thus acquired was at once caught up throughout Christendom, and made the basis of the studies of the faculty of medicine in the University system. Not to dwell upon the results of individual zeal and activity, a constant interchange of opinion and feeling was maintained by the vast pilgrimages which formed so

*) Bulaeus Hist. Univ. Par. III. p. 334. Heeren Gesch. der class. Litt. im Mittelalt. I. p. 115.

**) See Ritter Geschichte der christlichen Philosophie III. p. 95. A school of Medicine, Philosophy and Mathematics existed in Bagdad, and according to Leo Africanus was attended by upwards of 6000 students. Similar institutions flourished in Alexandria, and other cities of the Saracen empire. Heeren I. p. 150. 154.

***) A. Wood Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford. I. p. 151.

remarkable a feature in the religious life of those times, and, in so far as intellectual interests were concerned, a still more important channel of communication kept open by the secessions which all along took place from the Greek communion to that of the Latin church. *) In consequence of the lasting and furious controversies which raged throughout the Eastern section of the Christian world on the subject of image worship, monasteries of Greek monks were perpetually maintained at Rome, and similar associations of religious refugees are met with even as far north as Lothringia. **) Augustine, the apostle of England, was selected by Gregory the Great from a monastery of this description at Rome.

§. 57. The theory of an organic unity of succession in the various forms of academic life from its first appearance in the times of classical antiquity down to that period of the middle ages in which it had developed its peculiarities in their fullest integrity is further borne out by

*) Heeren Gesch. der class. Litt. im Mittelalt. I. p. 349.

**) Heeren Gesch. der class. Litt. im Mittelalt. I. p. 203.

the extreme and minute coincidence observable between the internal economy of the Universities of the eleventh and twelfth centuries with that which prevailed in the learned communities of Athens and Alexandria. We have already noticed how completely the features of collegiate life met with in the most perfect specimens of the modern University are to be recognised in the Museum of the Lagidae, itself doubtless an exact and careful copy of the Academic and Peripatetic societies in Athens. From the more minutely detailed accounts which we possess of the schools of Athens under the emperors we discover that the body of students as in Paris, Oxford, and Bologna was distributed amongst a certain number of nations,*) each

*) Ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἐφῶ, καθάπερ τι γέρας, Ἐπιφανίῳ σαφὲς ἐξήρητο· τὴν δὲ Ἀραβίαν εἰλήχει Διόφαντος, Ἡφαιστιῶν δὲ καταδείσας Προαιρέσιον ἀπῆλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων. Προαιρεσίῳ δὲ ὁ Πόντος ὅλος καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη πρόσοικα τοὺς ὁμιλητὰς ἀνέπεμπεν, ὥσπερ οἰκεῖον ἀγαθὸν τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμάζοντες. προσετέθη δὲ καὶ Βιθυνία πᾶσα καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος, ὅσα ὑπὲρ Λυδίας διὰ τῆς καλουμένης νῦν Ἀσίας ἐπὶ Καρίαν καὶ Λυκίαν τείνοντα πρὸς Παμφυλίαν καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ἀφορίζεται. Αἴγυπτός τε πᾶσα τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀρχῆς καὶ κλήρου ἦν οἰκεῖος αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅσα ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου καὶ πρὸς Λιβύην συρόμενα

τό τε ἄγνωστον τέλος ἔχει καὶ τὸ οἰκήσιμον. Eunap. vita Proaeresii. The ordinary number of nations appears from this passage to have been four, though two seem occasionally to have been combined under a single head. In the same manner the lectures of Himerius are said to have been attended by the Bithynians, Mysians, Pergameans, Galatians and Egyptians (Orat. XXII.). The four nations of the University of Athens are supposed by Bulaeus to have been instituted in accordance with the four praetorian praefectures into which the empire was divided by Constantine (Hist. Univ. Par. I. p 251.).

The academic population of Paris was divided into four nations, the French, English, Normans and Picards. Under the French were included Spaniards, Italians and Greeks. Under the English were comprehended not only all the nations of the British Isles but also Germans and Scandinavians. Each nation had its own examiners, beadles, register offices, archives, chapels, in short every thing pertaining to the complete organization of a political body (Bulaeus Hist. Univ. Par. III. p. 560.). The scholars of Bologna were arranged according to the two great divisions of Citramontani and Ultramontani. The former were distributed amongst seventeen, the latter amongst eighteen nations. The number and names of these divisions often varied according to the number of students in each. Birth, not residence was considered in making this distinction. The Germans enjoyed peculiar privileges, on the other hand the natives of Bologna in consequence of their connection with the antagonistic element of the town were not permitted to form a nation (Savigny Gesch. des Röm. Rechts im Mittelalter. III. p. 170.)

ruled and publicly represented by a proctor of its own.*) A numerous body of sophists in teaching the infinitely multifarious branches of knowledge which were supposed to be required by the perfect orator discharged functions in the highest degree analogous, as we have already seen, to those of the *magistri* and *doctores* of mediaeval Universities. The admission of the student into the academic body took place in both cases by means of a ceremony of matriculation (*τελετή*),** which conferred the right to the title of *σχολαστικὸς*, and the privilege of assuming, as its symbol, the philosophic *pallium* (*τρίβων*), or gown. By an usage followed even now in many Universities, this dress was modified by various diversities of shape and colour, in order to mark the minor divisions of the academic world. The gown of the Academicians is said to have been of a dark gray

*) The proctors acted first as the representatives of the Nation to the world without, secondly as judges in all cases of internal litigation, and lastly as the bankers and trustees of those belonging to their respective nations. (Bulaeus Hist. Univ. Paris I. p. 252.) The proctors of Oxford were invested with authority over masters and scholars alike.

**) Phot. Biblioth. p. 110. Hoesch.

or russet colour (*φαιός*), resembling probably that of the mantle worn by the Capucines of the present day, the sophists on the other hand were clad in robes of crimson, while the Stoics and Cynics were distinguished by a double gown of white possibly not unlike that afterwards assumed by the order of Dominicans. Contrary to the practice which at present prevails in English Universities the academic dress was worn not only during residence, but even while absent in the provinces.**) The act of matriculation consisted in a species of lustral bath, a form not improbably suggested in the first instance by the religiously mystical meaning associated with that ceremony. At its conclusion a fee of considerable amount was paid to the principal sophists, who were herein said to receive the price of the gown (*δέχεσθαι τὴν τοῦ τριβωνος ἀξίαν*) and the student was formally enrolled (*ἐνεγράφη*) in the books of the University.***) A ceremony of initiation, though differing in outward form from that of the period we are now describing, seems from its travesty in Aristophanes to have been known at the very

*) Liban. *εἰς Εὐστάθιον τὸν Κᾶρα*. init.

**) Cresoll. *Theatr. Rhet.* III. 16.

earliest times of sophistic history.*) The mode of instruction in the Universities of Mediaeval Europe seems to have been almost identical with that which prevailed in all the learned institutions of antiquity. The *μελέται, διαλέξεις, σκέμματα, λύσεις* and *ἐπιδείξεις*, by means of which the sophists, grammarians, and philosophers of classical times were trained to their respective callings, find an exact counterpart in the theses, exercises, and disputations of the schools of the middle ages.

§. 58. We may farther remark before taking leave of this portion of the subject that the two great typical forms of the academic life of earlier European history are exemplified in Bologna and Paris, the one the fountain and headquarters of legal knowledge, the other maintaining a similar position with reference to theology and philosophy. The former of those institutions served as the model for the

*) Aristoph. Nub. 263 sqq.

**) To the coincidences in externals above mentioned we may add the hat or symbol of the masters degree the origin of which is no doubt indicated in the epigram where a grammarian dedicates the *στεφανὸν κρατὸς* (Jacobs e conj. *σκέπανον*) amongst other insignia of his office (Anthol. II, p. 52. 2. Jacobs.)

Universities of Italy, Spain, and France (with the exception of Paris), the latter for those of England and Germany.*) The Italian Universities approximated far more closely to the external form and constitution of the Byzantine schools, in so far as existing records enable us to discover the peculiarities of the corporate arrangements of the latter. This resemblance is especially to be recognised in the fact that the University of Athens seems like Bologna to have been mainly an *Universitas scholarium*, and not *magistrorum* as was the case with Paris. In the last mentioned University the corporation consisted simply of the order of teachers, and the students were only noticed as the subjects of the body politic. In Bologna on the other hand the sovereign power was entirely vested in the rector and consiliari, or representatives of the Nations. The professors were regarded merely as individuals hired for the purpose of giving instruction to such of the students as thought fit to combine for this purpose. The former had no vote in the meetings of the University, except in those cases where they had previously held the office of rector, and

*) Savigny *Gesch. des R. R. im Mittelalter*. III. p. 124

were not even allowed to absent themselves from the town without the permission of the academic authorities.*) In Athens both forms of government seem in a measure to have existed along side of each other. The appointments in philosophy were filled up principally by the vote of the *διαδοχή*, a body apparently corresponding to the masters of Oxford and Paris.***) The sophistical chairs on the other hand are invariably described as disposed of by the *ἄνθρωποι καὶ νέοι*, that is to say the citizens of the town, and the students of the Univer-

*) The object of this apparently singular restriction was to prevent popular and possibly restless professors from betaking themselves to some of the other great schools of the time, and attracting thither the floating and unsettled portion of the learned body, a part of the population of the ancient Universities which was peculiarly large.

**) It is hardly necessary to observe that we are here speaking of the usage of the philosophic sects when they had already assumed the character of regularly organized and permanently established corporations. In the earlier stages of their history the head of the school named at his own discretion the person whom he considered best qualified to succeed in his stead. Compare with reference to this point a very pleasing story in Aulus Gellius Noct. Att. XIII. 5.

sity.*) An eminent instance of this circumstance we have already alluded to in the case of the celebrated Gregory of Nazianzus upon whom the scholars of sophistry are said to have conferred the professorship of this subject.**)

A curriculum
of general
study existed
in the ancient
Universities
and in those
of the Middle
ages.

§. 59. Plain and unmistakeable as is the prominence assigned in the best ages of University history to philosophic study exhibiting itself as a practical and creative energy in the various forms of professional life some difficulty may be occasioned by the circumstance that the plan of instruction which we have hitherto impugned as essentially unacademic, that namely in which the highest mental culture is sought to be attained by means of a course of general subjects, appears almost invariably associated with the educational arrangements of such institutions. The presence of the *ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα* in connexion with all the highest teaching of ancient Greece, the Trivium and Quadrivium in the schools of the later empire, and the studies of the Faculty of Arts in the Universities of more modern times may appear somewhat irreconcil-

*) Eunap. vit. Proaeresii.

**) Gregor. Presbyter. See also Gregor Nazianz. de vita sua carmen p. 4. ed. Morell.

able with the historical claims of an exclusively professional scheme of University instruction.

§. 60. The answer to this objection is sufficiently obvious. Passing over the learned institutions of classical antiquity, whose looser organization and less strictly defined precision of outline has been already alluded to, we must remember that in the earlier periods of European history the University did not, as at present, denote merely the culmination of a system of educational institutions. It comprehended nothing less than the entire literary and scientific life of those ages from the humblest elements of rudimentary study to the loftiest flights of philosophic speculation, and united the functions of the preparatory school with the activity and influence which alone deserve to be regarded as properly its own. An irresistible argument in favour of thus engrafting upon the University a mode of education not strictly in accordance with its nature was no doubt derived from the circumstance that even when schools capable of affording the necessary amount of preliminary instruction had begun to come into existence their connexion with the University was too slight and ill defined for the purposes of mutual cooperation. The advanced age more-

Explanation
of this circumstance.

over of a very large proportion of those who became candidates for matriculation*) strongly urged the necessity of a preparatory course in immediate conjunction with the University. The number of those who from poverty or other unfavourable circumstances had been prevented from obtaining in early life the requisite acquaintance with elementary subjects, and had subsequently embraced the resolution of qualifying themselves for a learned profession would then be peculiarly large, while the want of books constituted an insuperable obstacle in the way of any attempt at making good their deficiencies by means of private study. Such persons even in acquiring the rudiments of scientific knowledge required to be taught upon a principle totally different from that which is applied in imparting instruction to children, and the University, which could not afford to shut its doors upon the entire body of indigent scholars, was obliged to retain permanently much of the furniture of those inferior and collegiate schools out of which it had in so many instances itself originally grown.

*) Savigny Gesch. des R. R. III. p. 138.

§. 61. In strict accordance with the preparatory and unacademic character of the instruction it proposed to convey the Faculty of Arts was not recognized as coordinate with those of Theology, Medicine, and Law until the fifteenth century, at which period its studies began to assume a character essentially different from that which they had hitherto maintained. Thus we find that the classes of this portion of the University were commonly known as the *scholae minores*, to distinguish them from the *scholae majores* of Law, Medicine, and Divinity. *) The subject of critical philology remained so completely in its infancy until shortly before the Reformation that the corresponding department of the University could not possibly furnish scope for any higher teaching than that of elementary institution. So long as classical learning and general erudition were confined to the knowledge of a few ancient au-

Faculty of
Arts long
subordinate to
those of Theo-
logy, Law and
Medicine.

*) Bulaeus Hist. Univ. Par. I. p. 97. See also Huber Hist. of the English Universities I. pp. 34, sqq. In Paris only those Masters of Arts who lectured on Logic, Physics and Metaphysics in the Rue de la Fouarre were recognised as true regents. Those who taught grammar were not considered as possessing this character. (Crevier Hist. de l'Université de Paris IV. p. 248.).

thors, and a facility in reading and speaking the ecclesiastical Latin of the period it was impossible to build up a system of professional teaching with materials so scanty, and so little susceptible of scientific method. The Bachelors degree, which marked the termination of this preliminary course denoted, according to Huber*), simply a step in the school in which it was taken, and held no further reference to the University than as denoting the threshold of legitimate academic study. At Bologna in like manner the term *Bachalarius* designated no University degree. It was conferred upon a student who had lectured upon a book of Canon or Civil Law, or who had formally expounded a passage in either.***) Of the system of preparatory study which existed in connexion with the academic institutions of antiquity we have already spoken. We may further mention that Olympiodorus alludes to a class of students who were not yet admitted to wear the gown.***) That this portion of the academic body was the same as the *ἀκλῆτοι* spoken

*) Hist. of the English Universities I. p. 31.

**) Savigny Gesch. des R. R. im Mittelalter. III. p. 220.

***) Photius Bibl. p. 110. Hoesch.

of by Philostratus is clear from a passage in the oration of Libanius *ὑπὲρ τῶν ῥητόρων*. They were no doubt utterly distinct from the pupils of those inferior schools mentioned by Himerius, which were designed to serve as the first preparation for the teaching of the sophists. Soldiers, old men, and merchants are specified amongst those who attended the instruction of Libanius particularly in those initiatory classes which were taught in private.*) In individuals of this description natives of North Britain will not fail to recognize the historical prototype of those Celtic Catos who may be seen commencing Greek at fourscore in the junior classes of a Scotch University.

§. 62. This subordinate position of the Faculty of Arts was not only put an end to, but completely reversed in the changes which took place in the University system at the great revival of letters in the 15th century. The zeal for the new world of learned research opened by the discovery of the remains of the choicest and most fruitful period of the past caused almost every other department of academic study to be thrown into temporary oblivion and

When was
this state of
things
changed.

*) Reisk. ad Orat. *πρὸς Πολυνλ.* init.

neglect. Learning, which, in a merely polyhistoric and accumulative form, it is true, shewed itself most strongly in the declining glories of the old world, has ever been the inseparable accompaniment of the highest genius, and the most fruitful originality in the new. The age of Charlemagne, of Petrarca, and of Lessing abound in memorable examples of the truth of this assertion. At each of these epochs the remains of antiquity were searched into with an indescribable fervour of enthusiasm, not merely for the information they contained, in which case their utility would soon have been exhausted, but as suggesting eternal principles of thought and action — as a revelation for the noblest life of intellect. In the days of Erasmus and the Reformation the profession of the scholar was either openly embraced, or virtually followed by all the most richly endowed and masterly intellects of the time; and the chairs of philology became in fact the most important portions of the whole University course of instruction. The more elevated and academical character assumed by this subject, together with the greater perfection to which the lower stages of the educational system were gradually brought caused throughout the continent the removal

from the University of the entire preparatory course, which was henceforward completed within the collegiate schools. *) Classical learning, as the most comprehensive and rigidly exact of all the sciences which deal with the results of time, became the very left arm of philosophy and academic instruction, but its study in the University was confined to those who intended to embrace philology as a profession.

IV.

PRACTICAL INFERENCES FROM THE FOREGOING REMARKS.

§.1. A single glance at the general character and economy of Oxford is sufficient to enable the most ordinary observer to recognize in that University the most richly furnished and hap-

Peculiar purpose of Oxford.

*) See Discussions &c. by Sir William Hamilton p. 410.

pily organized institution for the efficient training of the Clergy and Clerisy of the nation which an auspicious concurrence of circumstances ever called into life. In accordance with the clearly defined purpose of its existence Oxford is in an especial manner designed to qualify for the ennobling duties of their office the scholar, the divine, and the thinker, as severally exemplifying the three great divisions of the class which is destined to promote the highest education of the country. We are now speaking not merely of what might, and should be, but of what in a great measure actually is. No one who knows the University need be reminded that nineteen twentieths of those who matriculate at Oxford do so with the intention of entering holy orders, or else of preparing themselves for acting as University tutors, or as masters in collegiate schools. An Oxford degree is recognized by all bishops as qualifying candidates for ordination, and, though a further examination takes place before actual investiture with the sacred office, the practice is, we believe, of comparatively recent date, and has originated mainly in the failure of those entrusted with the direction of the studies of the University clearly and consistently to

carry out the principle they involve. For although a tendency towards the three highest professions is unmistakeably to be inferred from the provisions of the existing plan of academic education in Oxford, the intention of the scheme is rather hinted at, than distinctly announced — the design is sketched in faint and shadowy outlines, not elaborated in detail.

§. 2. No violent or revolutionary changes are needed in Oxford, no alterations of the type of existence either in parts or whole, in the colleges or in the common life of the University. Little is demanded beyond a prodigious expansion of the existing method of instruction, a result which can be easily accomplished by simply making use of the materials which lie ready to our hands. Every requisite for the organization of study on the grandest scale, and in a form eminently noble and expressive is present in prodigal profusion. The mutual aptitude and affinity of the several parts and elements is so decided that it needs but a commencement — a point of chemical unity in order to set in motion a process of life and concretion which will speedily radiate throughout the entire mass. The regeneration of Oxford is to be accomplished, we believe, by

No radical
changes
needed.

rendering it a thorough and efficient school of all the leading departments of that mental science which, in contradistinction to the sister University, it has become the peculiar province of Oxford to impart. The means of instruction in theology, philosophy, and philology need only be advanced from their present half indicated and uncertain existence to the completeness and systematic form of regular professional training in order to enable Oxford to renew its youth, and rise per saltum to a condition worthily maintaining its ancient eminence and renown.

Origin of the
collegiate
system.

§. 3. The origin and the remedy of many of the most serious evils in the present condition of Oxford are equally made apparent upon a consideration of the rise and developement of the existing collegiate system. As this form of corporate existence constitutes a most interesting peculiarity of the English Universities, and is one moreover upon which erroneous impressions are especially prevalent, a rapid sketch of the leading events in the history of these institutions may not be regarded as wholly irrelevant.

Ancient
Halls.

§. 4. The practice of living in common in houses rented from the burghers, and designated as hospitia, or Halls is known to have

been the chief, if not the only point of difference between Oxford and Paris, the great centre and model of the academic life of the continent. *) Then, as in the earlier periods of classical antiquity, instruction was in a great measure orally communicated, and the scholars of the English University were led to coalesce in these minor divisions of the entire learned body, partly with a view of adding to the public instruction of a favourite teacher the advantages of his private and familiar intercourse, and partly also from a desire to draw more closely the bonds of friendship and fellow feeling amongst themselves. Although the authority of the body of Masters was **) unquestionably extended over these Halls, there is every reason to believe that a very considerable degree of

*) Huber Hist. of the Engl. Univ. I. pp. 52. 54. 599.

**) Malden Hist. of Universities and academic degrees p. 81.

Even the earlier colleges of Paris exhibit a decided leaning towards the characteristic distinctives of popular government. The prior, or head of these institutions was annually appointed by the theological students who belonged to the foundation from amongst their own number. Crevier Hist. de l'Université de Paris II. pp. 161. 164. 168.

personal liberty was enjoyed by the individual students of whom they were composed. That discipline in its minor details was principally maintained by agreement among the scholars themselves, and not by authority from above, is rendered not improbable from a circumstance which has come down to our notice. We are informed that the Masters publicly desired to be relieved from the necessity of attending to the domestic economy of the Halls. They declined being troubled with a mass of paltry detail, and formally made over all care for matters of this description to the students themselves. The latter appear from all accounts to have by no means neglected the due consideration of all that pertained to the class of creature comforts. Petitions are still extant in which they energetically complain of fraudulent practices on the part of tradesmen not a little analogous to those which have come to light at the present day, and solemnly implore the king that improper materials should not be employed in the preparation of their bread and beer, and, above all, that their wine should not be diluted with water.*)

*) The Oxonians of that period seem to have been

§. 5. The portion of the English University system of which we are now treating is to be regarded as furnishing on the one hand a remarkable instance of the fertility of political genius inherent in the race, and as constituting at the same time a powerful engine for accomplishing the grandest and best of purposes. As so many common homes, the halls established in every instance a focus of sympathy and attachment, producing an incredibly greater intensity of public consciousness than was possible in the feebler social life of the Universities of the continent. The rich and eventful history of Oxford at this period — the healthy and vigorous relation of action and reaction in which it stood to Church and State are unquestionably to be attributed in a peculiar manner to this circumstance.

rather noted for their jovial propensities. (See A. Wood Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford I. pp. 164. 440.) A peculiar fatality seems to have attached to the vintages of those times. Somehow or other we find that the wine was invariably either too dear, or too cheap, or too bad, or too good. The consequences to their ancient adversaries of the town were in any case very much the same.⁴

Bursae of
ancient
German Uni-
versities.

§. 6. The nearest approach elsewhere furnished to the ancient Halls of Oxford is apparently to be found in some of the Bursae of the earliest German Universities. Each of these institutions was placed under the supervision of a master designated as the rector, or conventor. Wherever the number of residents became too large to be conveniently overlooked by a single individual, a depute (conrector), or adequate number of assistants was also added. The duties of the rector were chiefly limited to a general supervision over the diligence and moral conduct of the inmates of the institution. Assistance in their studies was afforded, and a certain amount of domestic instruction introduced, but in subordination to the public teaching of the University. The Bursae derived their name from the common fund, or purse (bursae), to which all who became members contributed.*)

Government
of the English
Universities
originally po-
pular in its
spirit and
character.

§. 7. The entire organization of the English Universities at this stage of their developement presents a far closer approximation to the forms and spirit of popular government than is ap-

*) Discussions on philosophy by Sir William Hamilton.
p. 407. 599.

parent in the character which they subsequently assume. The supreme power appears to have been lodged with the Masters, or congregated body of teachers of all Faculties. The mass of the students was distributed, as has been already mentioned, into the two Nations of Northmen and Southmen (*clerics Nourrois et clerics Sourrois*), each under a procurator, or proctor of its own. The union between Masters and scholars was rendered more perfect through the medium of the seniors of the latter, a class belonging in a manner to both, and outwardly forming a part of the undergraduate population of the University, while attached by every consideration of future interest to the Masters amongst whom they were soon to be promoted. Foundations, fellowships, and the whole machinery of the collegiate system exhibited as yet scarcely the feeblest rudiments of existence.

§. 8. The decline of the ecclesiastic dominion in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries sketched forth by Ranke in outlines so striking and effective, and the simultaneous decay of scholastic philosophy told heavily upon the learned institutions of all Christendom. In Oxford this 'darkening of the powers of heaven' was attended with a variety of calamitous cir-

cumstances which speedily entailed the utter ruin of the state of things we have above attempted to describe. The immense diminution which at once took place in the attendance upon the University cut off the Masters from their previous means of support, while by narrowing the prospect of future employment it operated no less disadvantageously upon the interests of the junior portion of the academic world. All classes connected with Oxford were reduced to a condition of hopeless penury and distress which attracted the attention of noble and benevolent individuals who had themselves doubtless been attached to the University in some capacity or other during the season of its prosperity. Houses were thus purchased and funds assigned for the relief of the most pressing bodily necessities of the poorest class of scholars. The students who became recipients of such charitable bequests were designated as *socii*, or fellows, in consequence of their participating in the benefits of the common fund, and belonged for the most part to certain specified Faculties. The design of the founders in disposing of the sums bequeathed was evident-

*) Huber Hist. of the Eng. Univ. I. p. 177.

ly to maintain as many as possible, and the support thus furnished was originally intended to last only throughout the continuance of the course of University study. Inasmuch however as the students who frequented the University during this period generally belonged to the ecclesiastic order, and possessed no means of support beyond the assistance above described, it gradually became a tacitly understood arrangement that the maintenance afforded by the college should not be withdrawn from persons of this description until such time as they should have succeeded in obtaining a benefice.

§. 9. Charitable institutions of this nature had begun to come into existence¹ even when the University was at the height of its grandeur and renown. Merton, University, and Oriel (the two first more especially) date from the period when Oxford stood at the very zenith of its ancient glory and influence. They occupied however a position which was no doubt very subordinate when compared with that of the Halls, and

Earliest colleges at Oxford. Those of the Italian Universities.

*) According to Wood provision had been made for supplying the wants of poor scholars so early as the time of Alfred. Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford I. pp. 42. 184. 185.

were probably established in imitation of the colleges already existing in Paris and Bologna. The account given by Savigny of these institutions as they existed in the Italian Universities thoroughly corresponds with the original character of the colleges in Oxford. He describes them as societies of poor students living in common under a superintendent, and supported by endowments.

Origin of colleges at Paris.

§. 10. At Paris in consequence of the high prices occasioned by the prodigious concourse of students charitable endowments to meet the necessities of the most indigent portion of the academic population had existed from very early times. *) In the eleventh century we read that king Robert instituted a college for the maintenance of one hundred poor clerks. **) In the middle of the thirteenth century the college of the Sorbonne was founded by Robert of Sorbonne in Champagne for sixteen poor students in theology, four from each of the nations into which the academic world of Paris was divided. ***)

*) Sir W. Hamilton Discussions p. 403.

**) Bulaeus Hist. Univ. Par. III. p. 392.

***) Bulaeus Hist. Univ. Par. III. p. 224. Crevier Hist. de l'Université de Paris I. p. 495.

The Dominicans, Franciscans and other religious orders early provided free lodgings for those of their number who resorted to the University, furnishing at the same time small stipends for defraying their other most necessary expenses.*) These establishments were known as Inns, Entries, Hostels, Halls or Colleges, the latter term being generally restricted to endowments which provided for the support of a number of graduates. The arrangements for the maintenance of discipline in those institutions generally resembled those of the Bursaries of the German Universities as above described.

§. 11. The fourteenth century seems everywhere to have been peculiarly prolific in similar endowments. At Paris the celebrated colleges of Navarre and du Plessis date their origin from this period. Duboullay not inaptly compares the zeal and munificence directed towards the maintenance of declining learning by means of the endowment of colleges from the middle of the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth centuries with that which had led to

Founded in
great
numbers during
the 14th
century.

*) Crevier Hist. de l'Université de Paris I. p. 487.

the founding of monasteries in more ancient times. *)

Extinction of
the Halls at
Oxford.

§. 12. In Oxford the relief thus furnished was so striking and so urgently called for that bequests of the same kind increased in number and importance, until, with the gradual disappearance of the other constituents of the former academic state, the fellowships and colleges alone remained as the skeleton and frame work of University existence. **) During the reigns of Henry the seventh and Henry the eighth the Halls which had formerly composed the basis of the whole social organization of the University fell into utter decay, and became little more than a supplement of the colleges. ***) With the extinction of the Halls there arose a practice of augmenting the revenues of the various colleges by receiving wealthier students as boarders; and the existence of the class of students known under the name of 'commoners' was thus originated. In the fifteenth century

*) Haec igitur fuit pietas hujus seculi non monasteria fundare ut superioribus seculis factitatum est, sed collegia pauperum scholarum. Hist. Univ. Par. III. p. 659.

**) Huber Hist. of the Eng. Univ. I. p. 177.

***) Wood Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford.

fellowships were no longer endowed for the purpose of assisting mere students through their respective courses of study, but as a permanent means of subsistence to poor young men of the clerical order who had evinced a taste for learned pursuits, and the degree of Master was henceforth made a necessary condition for holding such appointments.*)

§. 13. So radical an alteration in the condition and social constitution of the academic body was not of course unattended by corresponding changes in the system of that scientific education whose furtherance constitutes the primary and essential purpose — the one chief end of University existence. A thorough dissolution of the professional Faculties at once ensued.**)

Change of the plan of study at Oxford.

The legal Inns of court were at an early period transferred to London. Philosophy had long since become a barren contest of words;***) in fine nothing of the former plan of study remained in existence beyond the preparatory course, and such a meagre outline

*) Huber Hist. of the Eng. Univ. I. p. 204.

**) Huber Hist. of the Eng. Univ. I. p. 158.

***) Ritter Geschichte der christlichen Philosophie III. p. 63.

of the rudiments of theological doctrine as would continue to survive among the ignorant and slothful residents of a decayed religious town.

England and
the English
Universities
in the age of
Erasmus.

§. 14. Every circumstance recorded of this period of the history of Oxford goes to prove that the colleges were not originally instituted with any of that reference to intellectual culture which held in union the members of the ancient Halls. *) They were simple endowed charitable institutions attached to the University, and their whole internal economy was far more strongly tinged with a religious than with an academic character. The principals of these societies were chosen, then as now, **) with no reference to intellectual qualifications, and though certain exercises were enjoined upon the fellows while yet in the preparatory stage of scholars, or learners, they appear to have been of infrequent occurrence, and of an extremely insignificant nature. During the earlier periods of the collegiate system the scholars belonging to these associations pursued their

*) Huber Hist. of the Engl. Univ. I. p. 207. Sir W. Hamilton discussions &c. p. 442.

**) Sir W. Hamilton discussions &c. p. 443.

studies in the lecture rooms of the University. Even at that later stage of the history of Oxford when fellowships began to assume more of the character which they exhibit at the present day the duties connected with these appointments appear to have been entirely religious, or rather sacerdotal in their nature. Tuition, wherever it was afforded, appears to have proceeded wholly from the impulses of individual inclination.*) The active intercourse opened up between England and Italy in the time of the reformation, and the powerful stimulus imparted to all the functions of higher humanity by the revival of classical learning seems to have nowhere exercised an influence more happy and lifegiving than in Oxford. Many exquisitely refined and highly cultivated intellects appeared to resuscitate the half forgotten fame of the learned metropolis of England, and the letters of Erasmus abound in expressions of wonder and delight at the profound erudition, elegant tastes, and noble humanity which he discovered in the Universities, and at the court of the Tudors.**)

We finding him 4

*) Huber Hist. of the Engl. Univ. I. p. 215.

**) *Tantum humanitatis atque eruditionis hic offendi,*

giving utterance to these sentiments, not merely in his correspondence with Englishmen, but in communications with friends on the continent, in which of course he was less likely to be led into hyperbole from motives of courtesy. In a letter to Jacobus Banisius (Brussels 1519.) he goes so far as to say that the court exhibited a larger number of scholarly men than any University (*aula regis plus habet hominum eruditorum quam ulla academia*), and in another epistle of the same date addressed to the archbishop of Mons we read that "*apud Anglos triumphant bonæ literæ. Rex ipse cum sua regina, Cardinales ambo, Episcopi ferme omnes toto pectore tuentur, favent, alunt ornantque.*" Want of space does not permit us to adduce many other passages in which he expresses him-

non illius protritæ ac trivialis, sed reconditæ, exactæ, antiquæ, Latinae Græcæque, ut iam Italiam, nisi visendi gratia, haud multum desiderem. Coletum meum quum audio Platonem ipsum mihi videor audire. In Grocino quis illum absolutum disciplinarum orbem non miretur? Linacri iudicio quid acutius, quid altius, quid emunctius? Thomæ Mori ingenio quid unquam finxit natura vel mollius, vel dulcius, vel felicius? Iam quid ego reliquum catalogum recenseam? Mirum est dictu quam hic passim, quam dense veterum literarum seges efflorescat. Ep. ad. Robertum Piscatorem. (V. 2.)

self with equal warmth and emphasis. Whenever he recurs to the subject of his residence in England, which is very frequently the case, he descants with enthusiasm upon the accomplishments and personal character of those with whom he had there become acquainted. *)

*) The impartial severity of historic truth compels us to add however that subtler and more seductive influences appear to have contributed to that deliciously roseate hue with which everything in England is invested in the eyes of Erasmus. This sprightliest and most delightful of scholars and reformers seems from his own admission to have been caressed amongst the feminine portion of English society in a style, and to an extent which would send a thrill of hatred through the bosom of the most envied pet parson of existing times. A quiet and confidential note to a poetic friend, Faustus Andrelinus, gives us a glimpse into the small life of the day, and fully accounts for those rapturous associations which caused even our climate to come in for a share of his eulogy. "Tu quoque si sapis huc advolabis. Quid ita te juvat hominem tam nasutum inter merdas Gallicas consenescere? Sed retinet te tua podagra. Ut ea, te salvo, pereat male! Quanquam si Britannia dotes satis pernosces, Fauste, nae tu alatis pedibus huc accurreres; et, si podagra tua non sineret, Daedalum te fieri optares. Nam, ut e plurimis unum quiddam attingam, sunt hic nymphae divinis vultibus, blandae, faciles, et quas tu tuis Camenis facile anteponas; est praeterea mos nunquam satis laudatus. Sive quo venias, omnium

Amongst the European celebrities of this period we find the names of many Oxonians, and it may well be doubted whether the peculiarly poetic spirit which breaths around the events and personages of the Elizabethan period, as well as the antique elevation of character and grandeur of resolve which distinguished the men of the commonwealth is not more to be attributed to the influences direct and indirect of the Universities, as the twin fountain heads of English philology, and of that nobler life to which the knowledge of classical antiquity has ever been the chief, if not the only highway*) than historians have commonly recorded.

oculis exciperis; sive discedas aliquo, oculis dimitteris: redis? redduntur suavia; venit ad te? propinantur suavia; disceditur a te? dividuntur basia; occurritur alicubi? basiaturs affatim; denique quocumque te moveas suaviorum plena sunt omnia. Quae si tu, Fauste, gustasses semel quam sint mollicula, quam fragrantia, profecto cuperes non decennium solum, ut Solon fecit, sed ad mortem usque in Anglia peregrinari. Caetera coram jocabimur." Erasmus cunningly attempts to pass off what he had experienced as merely the general custom of the country. This however is evidently a mere blind, and adopted in order to avoid the egotism of recounting a most invidious instance of personal good fortune.

*) Der Weg zum höheren Leben, der nur durch das Alterthum führt. Niebuhr an den Freiherrn von Stein.

§. 15. Eminent however as were the attainments of these individuals, inspiring and invigorating as their example and personal influence can hardly fail to have proved, the forms and spirit of the semimonastic institutions which composed all that remained of the old academic organization of Oxford was intrinsically too unfavourable to learned industry and free research to admit of any permanent or extensive triumph over the torpor and sterility which seems finally to have taken possession of the University. No radical change was effected in the character and purposes of the colleges. The relation between scholar and teacher continued to be extremely lax and undefined. Tuition, with the exception of the nugatory exercises prescribed by the college authorities, was, in the mass of the fellows at least, abandoned to the accidents of individual fancy. Enthusiastic admirers of the newly discovered lore for a time gathered around them assemblages of kindred spirits from amongst the younger members of the University, but no abiding traces seem to have been left in the shape of new institutions, or even of any very decided modification of the collegiate system.

No improvement in the collegiate system then effected.

§. 16. In the learned and ably developed ex-

position of this subject from which the above account has in a great measure been compiled no graduate of Oxford will fail to discover the fullest explanation of the abuses and anomalies which at present so completely overload and obscure the groundform of academic life in that University. With the exception of the change from abject poverty to a plethora of wealth every other feature of the picture above given remains unaltered. The absence of any strict and well defined principle of connection between collegiate and University study, the scanty extent to which the resources in men possessed by all the colleges are taken advantage of for the purpose of supplying adequate and efficient tuition, the monstrously absurd and unmeaning restrictions upon the competition for fellowships, and the generally puerile and imperfect character of the instruction imparted, all at this day give distinctest evidence of an institution founded with no direct reference to learning, and which, though supplemented with a tutorial element, has never yet been so far diverted from its original character as thoroughly and skillfully to serve the purposes of higher intellectual training.

§. 17. That a searching revision and reform of many portions of such a system is imperatively called for the bare statement of its leading peculiarities will suffice to show. Every portion of the collegiate economy which is based upon the original design of a religious poorhouse should at once be done away with, or at best only suffered to exist in the emptiest of commemorative forms. Historical antecedents arising out of such a conception can possess no intrinsic value or dignity whatsoever, while seriously interfering with interests for too momentous to be sacrificed in the smallest particular to mere antiquarian sentiment. They spring from a condition of the University which can only be regarded as abnormal, if not positively degrading. The period of the academic past to which they refer furnishes no examples of action beyond the munificence of their humane and venerable founders. The charitable purposes which the collegiate system was originally intended to serve are now, of course, not only not fulfilled, but directly reserved. From being semiliterary asylums for ecclesiastic paupers they have become so luxurious and expensive as to exclude all below the wealthiest portion of the professional classes. A persistence in sta-

Portions of the collegiate system which require to be wholly and utterly abolished.

tutary regulations which derive their whole pertinency from such a design is therefore simply nonsensical. Far more respect would be rendered to the memory of founders and benefactors by interpreting their intentions in such a manner as to meet the permanent requirements of the University, and to accomplish high patriotic ends, than by a slavish adherence to the letter of their injunctions which can at the utmost amount to a keeping of the promise to the ear, while flagrantly breaking it to the sense.

§. 18. In proceeding to consider the practical measures suggested by the foregoing inquiry no one will of course expect us to furnish any thing approaching to an elaborate exposition [account] of the particulars of a scheme of college reform. All that can be required is a clear and well defined statement of the guiding principles which in any and every movement in this direction should rigidly be adhered to. While preserving, and, if possible, even deepening individual differences the colleges of Oxford should be transformed singly and collectively in accordance with one common design, that of serving as the most perfect and admirably instituted schools of learning and higher mental science which ex-

isting circumstances admit of. The remark may sound truistic, but past experience shows that it is not wholly superfluous. All the arrangements of these societies should be remodelled with the view of accomplishing the greatest amount of 'work' attainable by the strictest economy of labour, and the most scientific application of all the resources they can respectively command. The social organization of college life should not only be retained, but even more widely extended by the formation of offshoots in the form of halls, under the superintendence of one or more of the college tutors, a plan which we are happy to learn has already in some instances been adopted. Mean and uninteresting as may have been the origin of the collegiate system, the general form of its social arrangements not only coincides with, but completes that life in community which ranks so high as a means, and an end — as an essential agency, and ultimate purpose of all education. The college with its appointments thrown open to the widest competition, with distinct departments of learning and science assigned to its several officials, and relieved from that incubus of oligarchical administration which an ancient writer justly describes as

peculiarly at enmity with all good*) would simply become a vastly expanded, and more perfect variety of the ancient Hall. As such, it would furnish a most admirably calculated system of means and appliances for conveying that moral discipline which the English schools of learning even in the rudest and most primitive periods of their existence wisely recognised as constituting one of the two leading objects of all University instruction.**)

Assignment
of distinct
subjects of
study to the
several tutors
of each col-
lege.

§. 19. No change in the present system is, we conceive, more loudly called for than that methodical reorganisation of College study to which we have previously alluded. The fellowships of every college should be distributed among the different divisions of Theology, Scholarship, and Philosophy in a manner proportionate to the relative importance of each. In the subject with which the writer happens to be more immediately conversant two ap-

*) Thuc. III. 62. ὅπερ δὲ ἐστὶ νόμοις καὶ τῷ σωφρο-
νεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατον, δυνάστεια ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ
πράγματα.

**) Ἀναγκαῖον τὸν τέλειον ἄνδρα καὶ θεωρητικὸν εἶναι
τῶν ὄντων, καὶ πρακτικὸν τῶν δεόντων. Plut. de placitis
philosophor. p. 874. Reiske.

pointments of this nature might in each of the colleges be assigned to Greek criticism, and as many to a similarly exact acquaintance with the laws of grammatical expression in Latin. A fifth and sixth might in the same manner be given to individuals whose especial office it should be to impart skill in composition, and a practical acquaintance with both the learned languages. The history of Greece would serve as the subject professed by a seventh, with a corresponding tutor for that of Rome. Archaeology, and the interpretation of the monumental remains of the two great nations of the past would in the same manner furnish an ample field for the exertions of an additional instructor. Prodigious and visionary as such a portioning out of the means of education in a single department is, we fear, likely to seem, so large is the number of fellowships in all the principal Colleges that were an analogous method of distribution applied in the case of Divinity and Philosophy there would in most cases still remain a large surplus for which it would be difficult to find University employment. The immense resources of Oxford in this respect will be apparent to every one who gives a glance at the Calendar for the

year. St. Johns it will be seen contains not less than fifty fellowships, New College seventy, Magdalen thirty, Exeter twenty five, Merton twenty four, Brasenose, Pembroke and Corpus each possess twenty, Worcester nineteen, Oriel and Jesus eighteen, Wadham fifteen, Balliol, Trinity, Lincoln, and University twelve respectively. In a word there is scarcely one of these institutions which does not contain within itself means more than sufficient for affording instruction in every subdivision of that class of sciences which Oxford is more especially designed to represent.

Original constitution of Christ Church.

§. 20. It is a circumstance worthy of remark that in the collegiate establishment founded by Wolsey on a scale of such characteristic magnificence and splendour we perceive an entire abandonment of the almshouse prototype, and a thorough adaptation of collegiate forms to the purposes of an almost purely intellectual culture. Christ church, according to the original design, was intended to comprise the educational furniture of an entire University. The college here stood to the University in very much the same relation which the family holds to the state. It exhibited in miniature the great out-

lines of the principal institutions, and leading tendencies of its sublimer counterpart, and thus brought home to the individual in concentrated and tangible form the most universal and essential influences of the vast and magnificent whole into the complex of which he would otherwise have entered as a mere unconscious atom.

§. 21. The course of instruction enjoined by the original statutes was strictly professional with the usual adjunct of a preparatory course. A body of *professores publici* were appointed in Divinity, the Civil and Canon Law, Medicine, the Liberal Arts, and Humanity, who, though, especially attached to Christ Church, were bound to read publicly before the students of the entire University. In correspondence with the above Wolsey also created a class of *professores domestici*, whose duty it was to give private instruction to undergraduate members of the college in Philosophy, Logic, Sophistry, and Humanity. *)

*) Many of the most remarkable features in the scheme of Wolsey are evidently suggested by the collegiate system which had then developed itself with such remarkable perfection and success at Paris. The colleges of Paris were, as Christ church was meant to be, Uni-

Relation
which profes-
sorial should
bear to tutor-
ial teaching.

§. 22. The design of this institution derives peculiar interest from the attempt which it exhibits to combine a scheme of collegiate with University teaching. In this, as in every other instance of wise political adjustment, harmonious coexistence, and community of action can result from no rude approximation to a mere arithmetical mean. It can only spring from that judicious distribution of the *sum cuique* which is founded upon a delicate and acutely

versities in miniature. They were all devoted to particular Faculties, or departments of Faculties. The Sorbonne, for example, comprised the whole instruction, acts, and exercises of the theological school, and thus became convertible with the theological Faculty of Paris. Regent masters nominated and controlled by their Faculties were appointed as lecturers in each of the several colleges. These lectures were ultimately thrown open to members of other colleges, and to those University students who belonged to no college at all. In the latter half of the fifteenth century the colleges de plein exercise in the Faculty of Arts amounted to eighteen in number. There were about eighty smaller colleges (*petits collèges*) which provided their scholars with food and lodging, but only taught them the elements of philosophy, sending them to the greater colleges for all higher learning. (Discussions on philosophy etc. by Sir W. Hamilton. p. 402.)

discerned discrimination*) of the essential peculiarities and distinctive virtues of each. Were more thought and study expended upon the endeavour closely and accurately to determine the respective provinces of the University and the college, the result would be that, instead of producing, as at present, a dead lock on the way to all improvement, they would be found to lend each other the most energetic and important aid in accomplishing the high ends of that education which each calculated so essentially to promote. Collegiate appointments are evidently meant to furnish a class of tutorial professors corresponding to the *professores domestici* above mentioned, and bearing some resemblance to the *privatim docentes* of continental Universities, though far more vitally one with the University, and occupying a station of infinitely greater honour and responsibility. Offices of this nature would naturally serve as an apprenticeship and stepping stone to the more commanding position, and ampler influence of the professor publicus, or University lecturer. The latter again, should be to the learned body

*) Aristot. Eth. Nic. V. c. 8. Plut. Symposiac. p. 718. Reisk.

of the University generally very much what bishops are to the church. They should be called upon to exercise a leadership and supervision over the Masters and scholars who belong to the Faculties they respectively represent. Appointments of this description should be regarded as the prizes of the University, and as such would be filled up from the foremost and most conspicuously useful of the whole tutorial body.

§. 23. The real, every day work of the University should, we believe, now as heretofore be accomplished within the college walls, and under the more individually applied and searching examination of tutorial teaching. Wider general views, new revolutions of systems of truth, broad aspects of the future of science would remain the especial province of the professor. Detail is invariably irksome, if not wholly thrown away upon a large audience however composed, and for this reason public lectures can never be made the basis of a severe and thorough system of academic education. The office of professor in this more restricted acceptation of the term is one which few are capable of supporting with dignity and real usefulness. Few are enabled to turn the

cathedra to any higher end than that of exciting talkativeness, instead of awakening Ideas. . The farthest range of observation had need be sought through before we can hope to find one whose eloquence and greatness of personal character gives promise of that grand oratorical power of permanently impressing the masses — who can evoke, direct, and embody those vast and incalculable potencies which live latent in all the nobler specimens of collective humanity.

§. 24. We have already seen that the actual requirements of higher study, and the uniform practice of the most instructive periods of the past demonstrate that the education of the University is properly concerned with *the masters degree alone*. That part of its teaching which is intended to qualify candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts has ever been an excrescence upon the system, a departure from the principle of academic instruction, in condescension to the educational imperfections of earlier times. Without being prepared to advocate the expediency of entirely abolishing this portion of the existing course we cannot but think that a much closer approximation to the rigour of academic study is both possible and desirable

The University properly meant to prepare for the Masters degree.

at a time when all preparatory instruction can be, and in a great measure is imparted in collegiate schools. At the same time with a question so grave and momentous as that of selecting the occupation of after life it may well be doubted whether a species of academic noviciate would not under all circumstances be advisable. Every good purpose however which could possibly be answered by retaining the studies of such a preparatory course would be quite as well attained in one half the period now assigned to it. That in so doing we should in reality return to the principle of former times is moreover evident from the extremely childish age at which this part of education was then completed. The statutes of the University, and the biography of distinguished men show that in the earlier epochs of English history the degree of Bachelor of Arts was commonly taken about the same age as that at which matriculation occurs at present.*)

*) Thus we find it enacted in the University of Paris that every determining Bachelor, or candidate after preparation for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, must be at least twelve years of age. Bulaeus Hist. Univ. Par. II. p. 677.

§. 25. The subjects taught in this introduction to the intellectual life of the University should be exactly those which are most universal in their bearings, and lead most completely as the prelude and portals to the entire universe of scientific culture. In other words the studies of this period should remain very much what they actually are. Classical Philology, Mathematics, and Logic are, it is almost needless to say, the very threshold and access to all learned study whatsoever. In Mathematics we behold of course the great Organon of physical science in all its departments. Logic again in a manner no less universal furnishes the student with a canon of thought and utterance on every topic. An exact acquaintance with the learned languages may be regarded as equally indispensable were it only from the fact that the text books and masterpieces in Theology, Philosophy, History, and Eloquence, that is to say in all the most momentous subjects of human meditation and inquiry are contained in those tongues. Opportunities and inducements which would not be wanting would amply suffice to fill up and adorn the existing frame work with many lighter accomplishments, and much general infor-

Subjects which should be required from candidates for the Bachelor's degree.

mation. All this however would be wisely abandoned to the tastes and interests of the individual student. The requirements of the University, even where bare admission into the lists of citizenship is concerned, should bear the same stamp of austere simplicity and simple minded adherence to essentials which characterises her own proper teaching.

§. 26. We may here take an opportunity of considering a practical difficulty which may seem to place no trifling limit to the application of that plan of study for which we have claimed the widest and most unconditional validity. A system of instruction so entirely based upon the strongest determination of all the powers of will and intellect upon subjects destined to maintain their paramount importance throughout the whole duration of succeeding life may not appear in accordance with the requirements of that numerically small, but politically and socially most important body, who from circumstances of wealth and station are relieved from all anxiety on the score of a future maintenance, and consequently are under no immediate necessity of acquiring an acquaintance with a single department of knowledge so exact as to enable

them to find therein the one and only means of maintaining existence bodily as well as spiritual. Admitting that a considerable deviation from the strict rule of academic instruction seems all along to have been conceded in the case of students of the class here referred to we cannot help more than doubting whether a decided departure from a principle so universally human, and so essentially associated with the life and the efficiency of the University can in any instance be either necessary or desirable. Life with the higher classes, if possessed of either dignity or character, must exhibit the same statuelike firmness of outline, and be directed with equal accuracy upon clearly comprehended, and heartily embraced objects as in the case of the more outwardly restricted, and less fortunefavoured portion of mankind. The certainty and distinctness of design elsewhere imparted to existence by the unyielding data of external circumstances will be all the more strongly asserted in those who cherish the sentiments naturally suggested by illustrious birth and dignified social station, as resulting from the free choice of a position essentially distinguished from all that is mean and common place, and evincing a

spontaneous recognition of the noblest and fittest uses of the factors of worldly power and influence. Political life and action, to which persons of this class are more especially invited, exhibits itself in the greatest variety of individual types, each mentally reflected and summed up in a corresponding system of scientific study. The student who looks forward to a parliamentary career as the occupation of his future life need be no more embarrassed in selecting the branches of knowledge to which he should devote especial attention while a member of the University than his academic associate who makes choice of the vocation of the scholar or the divine. Nature, and the nisus of mental growth, as exhibited in the form of personal preference, will guide individuals of the class first mentioned, as it does all others, to the studies corresponding with the form of public usefulness in which they likely to shine hereafter. Political science, Moral Philosophy, History, or some other of the infinite multiplicity of topics embraced under the general category of Arts, at once suggest themselves as indicating the class of studies to which such persons would naturally devote their attention, while the Masters degree in

one or other of these subjects would give public testimony to the legitimate completion of their academic career.

V.

UNIVERSITY SYSTEM OF GERMANY. ITS LEADING EXCELLENCIES AND DEFECTS.

§. 1. As regards the general type and character of academic study we should discard one of the most weighty and convincing arguments in favor of that strict unity of aim upon which we so earnestly insist as the vital principle of education in its noblest and most perfect form if we did not draw attention to the fact that it is precisely to the presence of this principle that the learned institutions of Germany are indebted for their unrivalled eminence in the academic world of the existing aera. It is not however without many misgivings that we point to [this example of the

workings of the plan we advocate, striking and incontrovertable as it is, well knowing how fatal such an allusion is likely to prove to its practical success with the people of this country. It is in vain, we fear, to urge upon those who are so much the slaves of names, and so determined to be deceived, that of all countries in the civilized world Germany furnishes the richest field of observation in all that relates to learning and learned institutions, and that, at all events, there would be less discredit in discovering and adapting a principle than in shamelessly plundering its results. For it is not a little remarkable that one nowhere hears so many silly sneers at the great fame of our continental kinsfolk than in the country where scarcely any thing above a newspaper has appeared for half a century which does not owe its reputation to the most wholesale, and often most impudent appropriation of the learned labours of the Germans.

German
Universities
framed upon
the same ge-
neral design
as our own.

§. 2. We are, we trust, far from being indiscriminate admirers of everything Teutonic. In the land of Luther at the present day, as in the best and brightest ages of ancient story, there are multi thyrsigeri, pauci Bacchi. At the

same time *μωμᾶσθαι ὅσον ἢ μιμεῖσθαι*. It is easier to pick holes in a great character individual or national than to imitate one tithe of its excellence. A man, a people, and a tendency, are to be estimated, not by incidental frailties, and occasional, or even frequent mistakes, but by the amount and character of the good they ultimately leave behind them. The chaff is scattered to the winds, the grain is garnered up by the Fates for ever. As regards ourselves, if we studied the Germans more, and stole from them less, it would fare all the better with the interests of mental enlightenment, and none the worse with those of our own originality. It is a poor and feeble counterfeit of independence which dares not venture to learn from the experience of others, and whose only chance of intellectual fertility depends upon the abandonment of every attempt at assimilation from without. ‘*Vicini quo pacto niteant in id animum advertito. Caveto alienam disciplinam temere contemnas*’, is the advice of one of the most originalminded and strongly defined characters in a people whose place in history has been preeminently won by force of intellect, and grandeur of practical

power. *) "The man," says Schelling, "who is most in a condition to produce is the person of all others from whom learning and studious receptivity demands the smallest amount of self sacrifice." **) No where is this obstinate refusal to study and profit by the example of other European nations so peculiarly senseless as when exhibiting itself in the shape of objection to reforms suggested by the German Universities. In point of general economy these institutions present throughout the greatest affinity to our own, with which, as we have already seen, they are identical in point of original design, the model in both instances having been derived from the University of Paris.

Defective as
regards pur-
poses of in-
struction.

§. 3. The academic system of Germany well deserves our most thoughtful consideration, less however as regards external form, or the plan of instruction pursued, both of which are singularly bald and meagre, than with reference to the method of prosecuting learned and scien-

*) Cato de re rustica c. 1. Compare also Polyb. VI. 25 extr. Ἀγαθοὶ γὰρ, εἰ καὶ τινες ἕτεροι, μεταλαβεῖν ἔθῃ, καὶ ζηλῶσαι τὸ βέλτιον καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι.

**) Gerade dem, der am ehesten zu produciren im Stande ist, das Lernen am wenigsten Verläugnung kosten kann. Schelling Acad. Vorles. p. 50.

tific inquiry. It sheds more light on those functions of the schools of learning which relate to the advancement of science, and the dissemination of general enlightenment, than on those which are designed to promote the moral elevation, and intellectual progress of the individual student. No one can have formed any practical acquaintance with the academic institutions of Germany without having his attention drawn to the extremely secondary importance which the class and its duties occupy in the eyes of the professor. As to the individual student no steps whatever are taken to ascertain whether he in any degree benefits from, or even comprehends the import of what he listens to — a circumstance which must render professorial prelections almost utterly useless to a large portion of the audience, especially in those subjects where the loss of a single step involves the sacrifice of all that follows. Nor is this deficiency on the part of the instructor at all remedied by any peculiarity in the mode of reception by his hearers. Of these all the most industrious are far too much engrossed in the mere drudgery of transcribing the lecture word for word as it falls from the lips of the professor to have a moments leisure for

estimating the truth and import of what has been propounded to them. Even in those cases, and they are any thing but few and far between, where the lecture is not a mere excerpt of treatises long since published, upon which the professor bases his fame and position, and where of course a sum far less in amount than the entrance fee would put the student in complete possession of the entire course, there is something so clumsy and unskilful as well as mindless in this mechanical quill-driving that in a country more fertile in expedients for economizing time and labour we are positive the whole system would long ago have been superseded by some simple combination of steam and machinery. A few ordinary lawyers clerks, for that matter, or a single newspaper reporter would accomplish all that could be desired with a saving of wear and tear on the part of more refined and cultivated intellects for which the world would have reason to be grateful.

§. 4. Perhaps the greatest objection to this system of academic instruction is to be found however in the dreary, formless formalism into which it infallibly degenerates. The fact is that the professorships in German Universities

have gradually settled down into something not unlike what fellowships of Oxford and Cambridge would become with the condition of delivering a course of lectures in each session attached to their tenure, and are virtually little more than a provision by the state for the maintenance of a number of eminent individuals in circumstances favourable to the prosecution of learned and scientific investigation. The tie which under this system connects the professor with the University is extremely slight and nominal. By far the greatest share of his time and attention is given to bookmaking. He is an instructor, not so much of academic youth, as of the world at large. Whether this may or may not be the far higher function of the two, we will not attempt to determine. It is quite enough for our present purpose that the University, in its closer connexion with the immediate and daily educational wants of the nation, is something quite distinct from the scientific institute; and that in a system where all that relates to instruction is thrown so completely into the back ground the essential objects of the former can not be said to be properly attained.

§. 5. That the professor of the University

is in an especial manner called upon to bear himself conspicuously in the van of discovery none are more deeply persuaded than ourselves. Not only does this lie in the very notion of the University, as the fountain and centre of speculative life, from which the highest thought of the nation proceeds, and to which it returns, but even with reference to mere educational efficiency it is evident that nothing will give the professor so powerful a hold upon the minds of his class as when he approves himself in advance, not merely of their transient immaturity, but of the scientific attainments of the entire age. At the same time there can be little doubt that by entirely sinking the character and functions of the instructor in those of the solitary investigator a most important duty is left unfulfilled with little or no proportionate advantage to the cause of knowledge. Nay farther there is every reason to conclude that the portion of time withdrawn from private study would be amply compensated by the healthier tone and mental freshness which could not fail to be derived from contact under circumstances peculiarly favourable with the most intelligent and generous portion of the youth of the country. No one who has had

any experience of oral tuition even in its humblest and most uninviting form can have failed to discover the deep meaning of the old adage docendo discas. On these occasions infinite as may be the advantage derived by the pupil the balance of gain will, we believe, always be found on the side of the instructor.

§. 6. Negative and imperfect as is the system of the German Universities in its mode of dealing with the student, in its method of dealing with science it exhibits qualities of a very different order. The ultimate and essential principle of that organon of scientific research which has been applied by the Germans with such signal success in the region of ontologic and historic knowledge, we will not take upon us to define. The discovery and analysis of such a principle would demand an intellect scarcely less profound and capacious than that of him who possesses it. A brief notice of its more external and striking peculiarities may not however be altogether without interest.

Admirably adapted for promoting the advance of science.

§. 7. First and foremost is to be reckoned that eminently philosophical striving after the cause and absolute ground of the individual instance which is so honourably distinctive of the historians and critics of Germany. This

circumstance has been justly noticed by the celebrated Hermann, who in contrasting the labours of one of the most eminent and illustrious of English scholars with those of his own countrymen remarks that while the Englishman is generally contented with pointing out the fact, the German is never satisfied until he has discovered the reason. In all the most highly trained and thoughtful intellects the presence of an unexplained and isolated phenomenon operates as a stimulus to internal activity. There is a sense of insufficiency and self contradiction as it were in the existence of a fact not viewed as suggestive of a universal truth.

§. 8. Closely connected with this powerful bias towards the establishment of philosophic ratio we also notice in German scholars a peculiarly deep sense of the intrinsic dignity of science irrespective of any ulterior advantages to be derived from its pursuit. With them knowledge is valued, not in proportion as it may prove available as the handmaid to mechanical inventions, or as enabling us to compass other material ends, but as itself constituting its own exceeding great reward. So reverential is their worship of science that the honour

and majesty of the Idea is recognized in the meanest and most insignificant of its genuine phaenomena. Every thing which properly and fitly becomes the object of scientific inquiry, however minute and seemingly trivial it may be, is to them invested with a worth and importance identical in kind, though, of course, inferior in degree with that which attaches to objects the most vast and imposing. Its nature and properties are studied with a degree of interest and enthusiasm scarcely inferior to that awakened by the loftiest objects of human speculation. In no other country, and scarcely at any other period in the history of human culture do we meet with so admirable a combination of judicious caution with masterly freedom and daring, of laborious and infinitesimal accuracy with the highest sweep of imaginative eloquence. The correspondance is still extant in which the great Wilhelm von Humboldt, another Aristotle in the range and luminous sagacity of his scientific insight, keenly discusses with F. A. Wolf the most microscopic details of Homeric criticism*), and exhibits the liveliest and most indefatigable ardour in hunt-

*) *Gesammelte Werke von W. v. Humboldt. V.*

ing out from the dreary prolixity of scholiasts and lexicographers the evidence for the accentuation of a word, or the direction in which a breathing should be turned. On this subject Humboldt most justly remarks that in science nothing is insignificant; and that the small only then becomes contemptible when the great is neglected.

§. 9. An immediate result of this earnest and intense practical worship of knowledge is to be seen in the organised division and systematic prosecution of science which forms so peculiar and striking a feature in the learned world of Germany. No where are the manifold advantages of an orderly arrangement of study so powerfully exemplified. The scholars of that country secure to themselves and to the cause to which they devote themselves with a zeal and enthusiasm so genuine not merely the dexterity afforded by the mechanical division of labour, but the power and inspiration of the soundest and most lofty conception of the central Truth carried into each and all of its departments. This creative blending of the universal with the particular, and silent, it may be, but none the less ever present carrying up of the individual and special to those

deeper realities from which it derives life and significance gives to their learned labours a genial comprehensiveness of view founded upon a vigour and accuracy of detail which will render the Germans like the Greeks before them a lasting lesson and pattern to all who have 'eyes to see or heart to understand'.

VI.

GENERAL ADVANTAGES TO BE ANTICIPATED FROM A REFORM OF THE UNIVERSITIES.

§. 1. There are few signs of the times we live in which augur worse for the future history of this country than the proverbial indifference with which we are in the habit of contemplating our own manifest inferiority to other countries, and to our own former selves in matters vitally associated with the very worthiest ends of existence without making an effort to do away with a state of things so discre-

Faults of the English character at the present day.

ditable. This utter *ἀφιλοκαλία*, and deadness to honourable ambition is deeply connected with the ascendancy which the maxims and spirit of trade have attained over the present generation of Englishmen. The low opinion entertained of a purely and solely mercantile community by all the greatest statesmen of antiquity, and the still more sacred authority which tells us that 'we can not serve God and Mammon' is day by day more strongly confirmed in the debasing effects of such a policy upon one of the most magnanimous and magnificent types of national character which history has ever exhibited.

Properly speaking peculiar to one portion of the nation only.

§. 2. This vulgar minded insensibility to higher and more lasting considerations than those which relate to the lowest individual enjoyment and advantage points to a temporary relaxing of the nobler springs of action, and an ebb of national spirit, less however as it exists in the masses of the community, whose nature must ever be somewhat animal and thoughtless, than in those higher regions of society where leisure and education have been conferred with the evident intent of enabling their possessors to keep before the nation the intense reality of interests which would other-

wise remain mere moonshine to the majority of those of whom it is composed.

§. 3. Take them for all in all the character of the English at the present day is, we are firmly persuaded, the most estimable and amiable the world has ever seen. The common people are, to say the least, more unaffectedly truthful and righthearted, more easy to deal with, as well as better behaved, and of infinitely better capacity, than the same class of any other country in existence. The general type of character met with in every day life is not only preeminently healthy and wholesome, but abounds to no ordinary extent in elements of a peculiarly choice and felicitous description. The delight of all classes of Englishmen in manly sports, the heartiness and relish with which each individual enters into the avocations of life, the perfection of sterling worth, and finish of substantial solidity which characterizes every article of English workmanship are each of them in their way no mean evidences of that freshness of feeling, and genuine enjoyment of activity which lie at the root of every genial and truly poetic temperament. Nature certainly has not been niggard of her best bounties to the race. Rich

veins run brightly intermingling with a broad and massive substratum of solidly useful virtues. It is not till looking beyond generally auspicious circumstances, and the mechanical round of ordinary life we seek for evidence of that higher excellence which is the result of personal conviction, and independent resolution, which cannot be inherited, but must be individually won that grounds for disappointment and criticism become apparent. The English character in the phase upon which it seems now to have entered certainly exhibits an extraordinary deficiency in all those aims and faculties which constitute mans proper humanity, and in virtue of which he is something more than merely the most perfectly organised specimen of the genus mammalia. As compared with the great nations of the past, and those which stand foremost in the world of the present*) they evince little capacity for se-

*) With all the frivolity and profligacy of the French character it is impossible to be long in that country without detecting in the social atmosphere the distinct presence of something more essentially entitled to respect, and more worthy of an European people than ought that comes within the circle in which the dominant portion of the English are well content to live, and

rious or elevated thought, - an irresistible predilection for odd, and at the same time un-

move, and have their being. A rare and penetrating intelligence, scientific precision and consistency, a magnanimous ability and vastness of scale in all undertakings of public interest, together with the liveliest susceptibility on the point of honour are powerfully determining principles in the present no less than in the past existence of the French nation. No one will long rule in France whose policy does not eminently fulfil one or other of these requirements. In England on the other hand, if we except such feelings and faculties as are called into play in 'business', that is to say, in buying, and selling, and bookkeeping, a distorted and trumpery sentimentality is almost the only impulse of general action which is worth speaking of, or which a prudent and practical politician could at all venture to recognise. Even when regarded individually how purely exceptional a case is it when we meet with an Englishman who exhibits any thing of that homage for mind so universal in France or gives trace of the faintest conception of a higher culture than that exemplified in the mannerism and conventionalities of the fashionable class.

We are the more unreserved on this subject from the conviction that the faults and deficiencies here alluded to are vitally connected with the abeyance into which university education has practically fallen in England — a result attributable partly to the imperfect nature of the instruction imparted in those institutions which hold academic rank and consequence, and still more to the small portion of the community which partakes of

speakingly humdrum and shallow delusions, an ignoble indifference for reputation, with a corresponding absence of any desire to excel*). In short the prevailing mode of thinking is to say the least unambitious and commonminded to excess. The expression of mental physiology, without being coarse or sordid, is essentially ordinary and unimpressive. With in-

the benefits of such education as even they afford. We do not believe that Englishmen are naturally at all less open than other nations to generous emotions or enlarged and highminded modes of thought. The very reverse is the fact. The inanity of head and heart so prevalent in the upper classes arises from a want of education thoroughly corresponding with that which is the acknowledged cause of the degradation of the lower. Ignorance, and an utter want of that mental culture which leads in the profoundest sense to the *homo sum humani nihil a me alienum puto* lie at the root of the narrow minded finality and unmeaning exclusiveness which so strikingly and completely separates the majority of the English from the sympathies of mankind. On the other hand the graver faults of the nation all spring from the absence of any ideal, and the consequent acceptance of a poor, capricious, and external standard in place of those eternal principles of Truth and Duty which it is one of the leading objects of the University to awaken and establish.

*) *contemptu famae contemnuntur virtutes. Tacitus. Ann. IV. 38.*

finite cleverness and an overflowing measure of honest good feeling, and zealous, though somewhat bustling benevolence, that finer reverence, and those higher gifts of intellect which lend interest and dignity to character are absent, and uncared for. In few Christian countries is that type of human nature where, in the words of Niebuhr, *Nichts bleibt als ein gewinn- und genussuchendes Thier, und der Geist verschwindet**), so completely in the ascendant, and those who represent it so little rebuked by the life and conversation of their betters. The miserable littleness of our parliamentary history in the war just concluded, and the corruption and injustice which seem inveterately rooted in so many of the most important branches of the public service are obvious, though by no means solitary instances, of an incompetency adequately to appreciate high duties, and of the absence of even a respectable admixture of the ingredient furnished by that prouder and more powerful form of character, without which good intentions on the part of the community generally will avail

*) Where man becomes a mere pleasure and profit-seeking animal, and the soul has departed.

as little in promoting the welfare of the nation as, divines tell us, they accomplish in securing the salvation of the sinner.

The very reverse of the historical character of the English people.

§. 4. There is a notion commonly abroad — and one strikingly illustrative of the inglorious style of thinking now prevalent in England — that this deficiency in high moral and willingness to be inferior in all that constitutes Gods image in man is originally and essentially English. Elsewhere, to be sure, the ‘history of nations has ever been the judgment of nations’. Every other people which has risen to permanent victory and dominion, whose triumphs have been any thing more than a passing scourge of the sins of their neighbours has achieved a positive claim to authority, or has at all events been conspicuous for qualities which awaken respect and admiration rather than aversion and disgust. With us however it is quite the reverse. We are, and have been from first to last utterly unconscious of, and unconcerned about any thing beyond the ledger and the shop board, possessing no mental accomplishment of a higher order than mere acquisitiveness, or the Thersites like talent for buffoonery and caricature. ‘We have all along blundered into greatness,’ and there is

consequently no reason for desiring any change in qualities which have practically worked so well. *) This impression rests upon an entire mistake in point of fact. The blunders and baseness of the past have contributed marvellously little to the greatness, such as it is, of the present. That in the most glorious ages of English history the character of the actual numerical majority considered simply by itself was every whit as much limited to physical instinct as it now is, and perhaps even more so, is a remark which amounts no more than the truism that in all times, places, and circumstances whatsoever the great outlines of human nature and components of human society remain substantially the same. Making all due allowances for this sympathetic bond of identity in kind an infinitely varied state of individual diversities in ascending and descending degrees of excellence, according to the spirit and temper prevalent in the small tonegiving circles of society, is un-

*) Compare the following by way of contrast: *τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωμένους, καὶ ἐρασταὺς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς, καὶ, ὅταν ὑμῖν μεγάλη δόξα εἶναι ἐνθυμονόμενους, ὅτι τολμῶντες, καὶ γινώσκοντες τὰ δέοντα, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἀσχυρόμενοι ἄνδρες αὐτὰ ἐκτεήσαντο.* Thuc. II. 43.

mistakeably evident. The annals of England unfold an endlessly varying series of the richest pictures, in which the most vigorous mental initiation is swayed and guided by a profoundly generous humanity, and a peculiarly exquisite beauty of thought and feeling. The age of Elizabeth, which perhaps more than any other gave the impulse that has borne us onward ever since, exhibits a most interesting union of the gravest wisdom with all the grace and charm of poetic inspiration, while the still greater epoch which succeeded abounds in characters who have become the very types and symbols of the *φοβερόν κάλλος* of austere decision of will, and masterly ability of intellect. Even in periods less signally renowned, and garded by the rest of mankind with less unmingled wonder and respect the orators and statesmen who set their stamp on the baser and more sluggish material of the times exhibit a character very different from that of the stockjobbing, tradesmanhearted 'Anglo-saxon' of the present generation, who in the midst of unexampled prosperity has so rapidly succeeded in demolishing the great name that they left behind them. Nor was this merely the case with the guiding intellects of the

nation. The immediate agents in establishing our name and empire, the Nelsons and Clives of our history, have almost invariably exhibited in word and deed the most impassioned and imaginative type of practical genius.

§. 5. Individuals of the same high mental order, and with aims not less serious and noble continue to exist in England in numbers, or the road downwards would assuredly have been more brief and sudden than it has hitherto proved.*) Their presence however is unknown

*) Though the mention of examples may be somewhat superfluous we cannot resist the temptation of confirming the above assertion by reference to what we consider as emphatically the gem of the literature of the day. We allude to 'The Saints Tragedy', a work which, after all, no other country but England could have produced. Nothing in any recent literature with which we are acquainted can approach this singularly beautiful poem in that glorified sanctification of human suffering (*κάθαρσις τῶν παθημάτων*), and that vivid earnestness without which art becomes an effeminate pastime, and the poet a somewhat more presentable species of fiddler. The appearance from time to time of a book of this description is really needed to prevent one from rushing out into the wildness — ultra Saurómatas — from the miscreant hero worship, peace societies, Uncle Tomfoolery, and other mental epidemics to which the

and unfelt in the freshening energy and elevation of sentiment which such minds are meant to communicate to the ordinary life of the nation. The opposite and more ignoble tendencies remain in undisputed mastery of 'the situation,' from the fact that they alone are fully organized and distinctly represented, while the most precious elements of national felicity and progress lie dispersed and comparatively powerless. Those who impersonate such principles are, with few exceptions, driven into literary cliques when living, and only recognized when dead in order to be pilloried in the paltriest of statues.

Moral and
public influ-
ence which
properly falls
to the Uni-
versity.

§. 6. No measures can be conceived more wisely calculated to renew that temper of high resolve which enables a nation to enact history, and to which England is in an especial manner indebted for its greatness than such a reform of our University system as would enable those institutions signally and thoroughly to perform the part allotted to them in the workings of the state. The fruits of the Uni-

vulgar and weakminded of all countries, and those of our own in particular seem so strangely and inveterately subject.

versity are to be found not only in a more refined humanity, but in a more severely masculine type of will and intellect, and the reestablishment of our schools of higher learning upon a sound basis of academic study may be regarded as one of the surest means of reviving and keeping alive in the leading classes of the country those absolute principles of thought and action the consciousness and reverence for which seems so greatly to have abandoned us.

§. 7. The momentous political results which would necessarily be produced by an institution gathering around itself on all more important emergencies the scattered elements of highest intelligence, and lending a collective voice and individuality to the choicest portion of the professional body are too obvious to require mention in detail. An immediate effect of the more positive and external reality thus given to the learned class would be felt in the fact that the wisdom and education of the country would bring to bear upon government something of that external pressure which is at present the exclusive prerogative of its fanaticism and cupidity. It is surely not too much to hope

that the presence in the councils of the nation thus accorded to a section of the community whose distinguishing characteristic is that perception of essentials which is the ground and condition of all design would lend guidance and precision to the consideration of a most important class of public measures. Questions, like that of education, are perpetually forcing themselves upon the notice of the country, where a deeper philosophy, and an appreciation of interests stretching too far into the unseen and eternal ever to be apprehended by Parliament or constituencies is absolutely needed to meet urgent and immediate national requirements. The rude shocks of experience are causing us to open our eyes to the real value of that unreasoning empiricism which constituted the sole ground of our fancied practical superiority. We are beginning to discover that unless accompanied by a corresponding measure of intellectual insight and forethought any attempt at action leans simply to a scuffle in the dark. There is consequently a chance that the influence of such a body as that above mentioned would in some degree be permitted to remedy that utter absence of thought and prin-

ciple which lies at the bottom of so much of the political blundering in England.*

§. 8. Most of the later attempts at general legislation which have proceeded from the family of nations to which we belong seem, when viewed in the light of history, to labour under one serious defect, that viz. of being framed

*) "Sir, it is not a pleasant consideration, but nothing in the world can read so awful and instructive a lesson, as the conduct of ministers in this business, upon the mischief of not having large and liberal ideas in the management of great affairs. Never have the servants of the state looked at the whole of your complicated interests in one connected view. They have taken things by bits and scraps, some at one time and one pretence, and some at another just as they pressed, without any sort of regard to their relations and dependencies. They never had any kind of system right or wrong, but only invented occasionally some miserable tale for the day, in order meanly to sneak out of difficulties into which they had proudly strutted. By such management, by the irresistible operation of feeble councils, so paltry a sum as three pence in the eyes of a financier, so insignificant an article as tea in the eyes of a philosopher have shaken the pillars of a commercial empire that circled the whole globe." Burke, speech on American taxation. There could scarcely be a more graphic picture than the above of English legislation at the present day on all points save those of commercial policy.

upon too low an estimate of the ends of political existence. Public questions and interests have long been dealt with in accordance with a view of the state which utterly ignores the truest and most essential objects for which it is instituted. The grandest expression of human existence and action, the support and subject of the loftiest tendencies and most sacred emotions, the personality above self, which is instinctively regarded as the highest object of devotion and duty, and an such anthem as 'God save the Queen' is in practice and principle regarded simply as a joint stock association for the mutual insurance of life and property. It is with reference to these mean and inadequate notions of the social polity, and the errors which naturally spring from so tame and unworthy a conception of the state, that the University, as a convocation and permanent committee of the clerisy, would prove especially valuable, and do good patriotic service to the nation. Opinions of the kind above alluded to are in one form or other too congenial and too deeply engrained in the habits of thinking which characterize the industrious and respectable, but not high minded class who are now the possessors of power to be ever directly eradicated.

The only means of securing the due ascendancy in the nation of higher tendencies and interests than those which minds of this order can ever be made to comprehend would be by modifying, and to a certain extent counterbalancing the preponderance of the coarser, and commercial elements by the concentrated influence of a more intelligent, and more nobly thinking portion of the community. It is hardly necessary to mention how utterly improbable it is that in this country such a class would exhibit any of that disorderly and revolutionary spirit by which the academic institutions of the continent have foolishly made shipwreck of great opportunities of public benefit. On taxes and imposts, and all those matters of minor detail which form the topics of ordinary legislation their common and united opinion would rarely, if ever, be expressed. They would naturally ascend into the position of the chorus in the drama confirming the absolute truths imperilled by the passionate vehemence of the personages more prominent on the stage, and thus giving as it were a back ground of eternity to the picture, but seldom actively interfering in the action of the piece. The analogy of the past history of the University, and the characteristic soberminded-

ness of educated Englishmen gives every warranty that the prevailing tone of their political sentiments would have the strongest bias towards enlightened conservatism, and that the organization of the learned class would have the effect, not only of enriching public life with a new type of corporate existence, but of furnishing an additional safeguard of political order. Actual and bona fide democracy has ever from the days of Plato until now been an object of unmingled disgust and contempt to all wise and scholarly natures. *Ἐν πάσῃ γῇ τὸ βέλτιστον ἐνάντιον τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ* was the remark of one who spoke not without some experience of the subject, and in this country we are too well, and often made acquainted with its inherent folly and blackguardism ever to become enamoured of a scheme of government which so inevitably drags into the kennel that sacred form of common Unity in which the very humblest was meant to recognise an image and a consummation of the dignity and limitless power of the nature in which he participates.

§. 9. The vast and manifold ends which the University is destined to serve are not less signally conspicuous in the more general re-

lations to the state here briefly touched upon than in those directly educational purposes which formed the subject of an earlier portion of this treatise. Schools of this order are meant not only to unfold the highest of human faculties in the individual, but to collect and lead irresistibly upon common objects the most cultivated intelligence of the times. Their office is in every way an eternal one, and in the grossminded utilitarianism of this age and nation, they are called upon to encounter a form of barbarism infinitely more hateful and essentially inimical to all hightoned excellence of mind and character, than the honest, undisguised ruffianism which at a more youthful epoch of their existence they so nobly succeeded in humanising.

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